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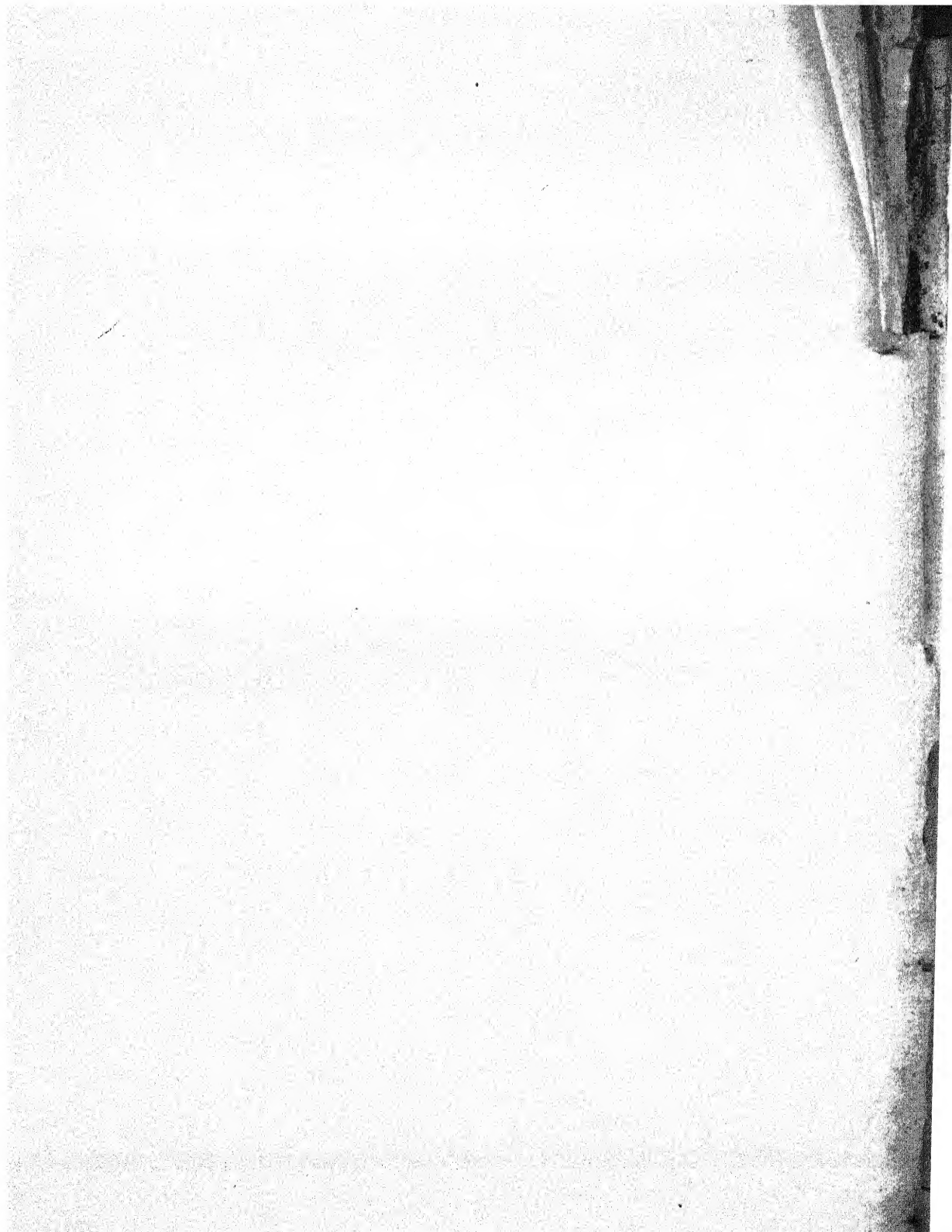
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1911	Kinnaird, The Hon'ble Miss	... <i>Y.W.C.A., London.</i>
1912	Lakshmana Gowda, C., Esq., B.A., B.L.	... <i>Advocate, Pathrappa's Lane, Thigalarpett, Bangalore City.</i>
1911	Lillington, Miss	... <i>C.E.Z. Mission, Bangalore.</i>
1912	Principal	... <i>Central College, Bangalore.</i>
1912	Schroder, Dr. Otto	... <i>Director, Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras.</i>
1912	Secretary	... <i>Connemera Library, Madras.</i>
1912	Y.M.C.A.	... <i>Madras.</i>

STUDENT MEMBER

1913	Gundappa, Kurupad, Esq.	... <i>Student, Agricultural College, Poona.</i>
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THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

RULES

1. The Society shall be called the MYTHIC SOCIETY.
2. The Society was formed with the object of encouraging the study of the Sciences of Ethnology, History and Religions, and stimulating research in these and allied subjects.
3. Membership shall be open to all European and Indian gentlemen, who may be elected by the Committee.
4. The Society shall be managed by a Committee consisting of the President, three Vice-Presidents, the Honorary Treasurer, two Joint Honorary Secretaries, three Branch Secretaries, the Editor, and five other members, retiring annually but eligible for re-election.
Any four of the above members to form a quorum.

5. The subscription shall be—

- (a) For members resident in Bangalore, rupees five per annum.
- (b) For members resident elsewhere in India, rupees three per annum. These subscriptions are payable on election, or annually, on or before July 1st. The Honorary Treasurer may recover any subscription which may remain uncovered at the time the second number of the Journal is issued by sending the second number by V.P.P.

Membership is open to residents in the United Kingdom, the subscriptions being four shillings annually, a remittance of twelve shillings covering subscriptions for three years. Subscriptions from the United Kingdom may be remitted by 'British Postal Order' to the Honorary Treasurer, Mythic Society, Bangalore.

Bona fide students resident in Bangalore will be admitted as members without the right of voting on payment of rupees three per annum.

Ladies may become subscribers on payment of rupees three per annum.

6. The transactions of the Society shall be incorporated and published in a Quarterly Journal which will be sent *free* to all members, and which will be on sale at 12 annas per copy to non-members.

7. There will be nine Ordinary Meetings in each Session, at which lectures will be delivered; due notice being given by the Secretaries.

8. Excursions to places of historical interest, will be arranged and intimation thereof given to members.

9. Members may obtain, on application to the Secretaries, invitation cards for the admission of their friends to the lectures.

10. The Annual General Meetings will be held in March.

11. Framing and alteration of Rules rest entirely with the Committee.

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, }
REV. F. GOODWILL, } *Joint Secretaries.*

THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

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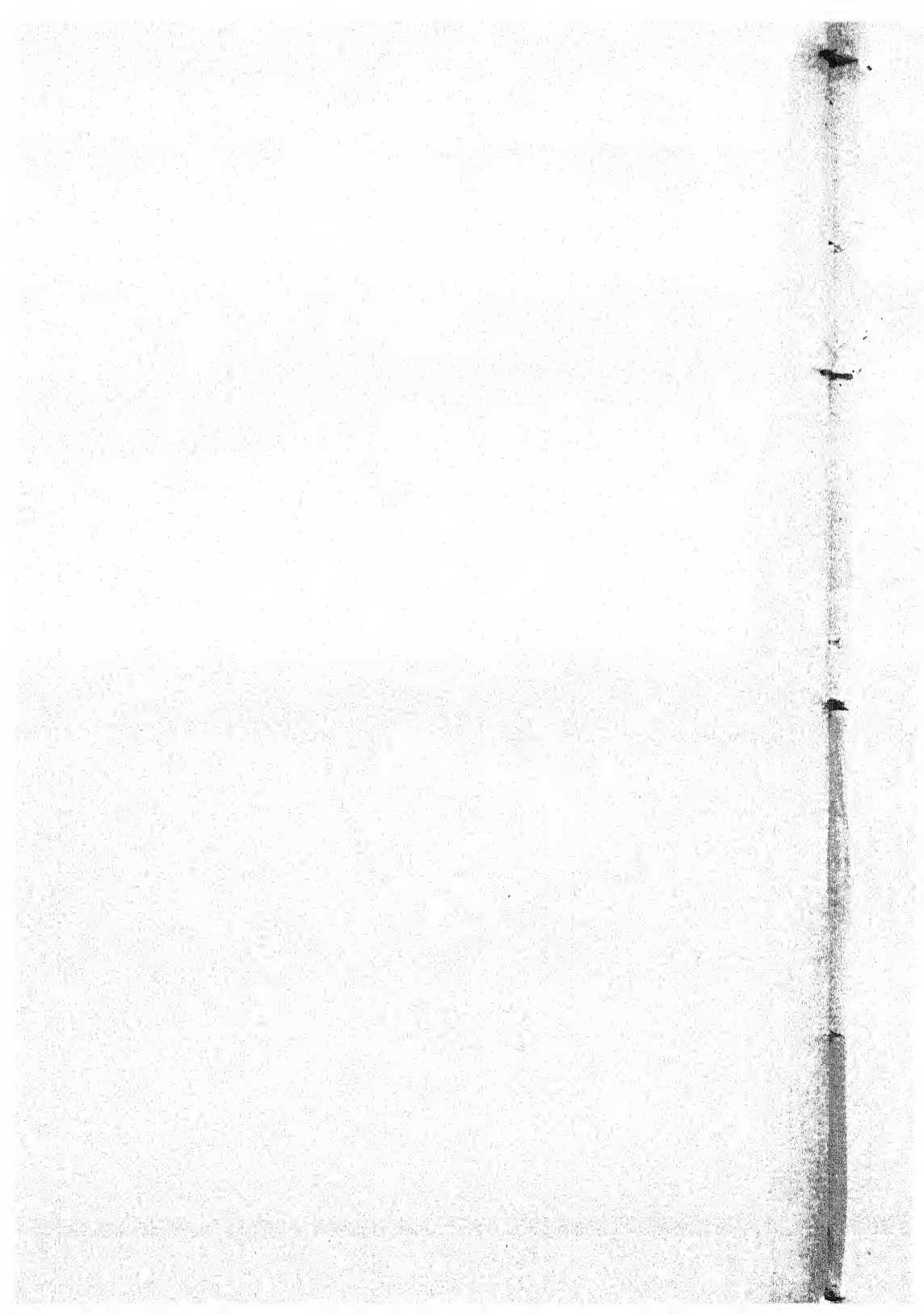
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Talkad.

The Diamonds of South India.

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The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society

Vol. IV]

[No. I

THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

The Third Annual Meeting

THE annual general meeting of the above Society was held on Wednesday, July 9, at 6.30 p.m., in the Central College Hall. The Honourable Colonel Sir Hugh Daly, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Resident in Mysore, was in the chair. Among those present were the Rev. A. M. Tabard, M.A., M.R.A.S., President of the Society; Mr. P. B. Warburton, I.C.S., First Assistant Resident; Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, C.I.E., Ex-Dewan of Mysore and Travancore; Mr. H. V. Nanjundaiya, M.A., M.L., First Councillor; Mr. J. S. Chakravarti, M.A., F.R.A.S., Comptroller; Mr. J. G. Tait, M.A., Principal, Central College; Mr. J. Kann, Indian Institute of Science; Mr. P. S. Krishna Rao, B.B., Chief Judge; the Rev. L. Froger, M.A., Principal, St. Joseph's College; the Rev. F. Goodwill, Mr. B. P. Annasawmy Mudaliar, B.B., C.I.E., the Rev. A. R. Fuller, B.A., Principal, Wesleyan Mission High School; Mr. F. R. Sell, M.A., Professor, Central College; Mr. A. C. Bull, B. W. C. and S. Mills; Mr. B. Narain Aiyangar, Mr. P. Sampat Aiyangar, M.A., Assistant Geologist; Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., M.R.A.S., Professor, Central College; Mr. G. H. Krumbiegel, Superintendent, Government Gardens; Mr. P. Barton, Mr. A. S. Andrews, Rev. J. Mascarenhas, Dr. A. S. Fernandes, M.D., Mr. B. Venkoba Rao, City Magistrate, Mr. Chambers, Mr. M. Shama Rao, M.A., Inspector-General of Education; Mr. C. Srinivasa Aiyangar, Retired Councillor; Mr. P. J. Walsh, Mr. C. H. Beames, T. Leishman, Mr. E. F. H. Wiele, Mr. R. D. Anstead and Mr. K. Chandy, B.A.

The proceedings commenced with the Chairman calling upon the Secretary of the Society, Mr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar to read the report for the session ending June, 1913, which was as follows:—

The Mythic Society has reached its fourth birthday and its growth is a matter of satisfaction to those who founded it in the modest hope that, after several years of existence, it might perhaps boast of a few dozen members. Seventeen was the original number of members and now at the end of our third session we have on the rolls resident members 120, mofussil members 130, subscribers eleven and student members one, yet we look forward to a large increase in membership. Your Committee are determined to leave no stone unturned till every one in Southern India interested in the subjects, which form the scope of our Society, has become a member. To attain that object they rely on the hearty co-operation of the present members, who, they trust, will do their utmost to make the Society more widely known and to enlist the sympathies of their friends towards it.

Six papers were read during the session, of which two were illustrated by lantern slides. In this connexion the Secretary would make a special appeal to the members. There are many, no doubt, who have something interesting to say, some who could give us interesting papers, but the difficulty for the Secretary is to discover and bring to light talents which remain hidden to the great loss of the Society. If I am permitted, I will avail myself of this opportunity to beg such not to wait to be asked but to volunteer their services and place their knowledge and experience at the disposal of the Secretary or of the Editor.

The accounts of our Honorary Treasurer show that our financial position is on the whole satisfactory. At the present moment our liabilities amount to Rs 380-14-0, but, when the arrears of subscription have been paid up, we shall be able to face them cheerfully. The principal event connected with the Society during the year under review was the departure from Bangalore of Mr. F. J. Richards, M.A., I.C.S., with whom the idea of the Society first originated. The President and Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, B.A., C.I.E., together with the members of the Committee were 'At Home' on November 4, at *Patan Bhavan* to give an opportunity to the members of the Society and a few sympathizers to bid farewell to Mr. and Mrs. Richards on the eve of their departure from the station. Our thanks are due to Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, for having so kindly placed his palatial residence and his most beautiful grounds at our disposal on that occasion, and to our President who, in a skilfully prepared and beautifully staged 'tableau vivant' made History, Archæology, Religions and Ethnology come before an applauding audience and recite in well-composed verses the praises of the founder of the Mythic Society. In conclusion I make myself the interpreter of all the members of the Society in expressing our thanks to

the gentlemen who have contributed papers and to Mr. J. G. Tait, for his great courtesy in placing this beautiful hall at our disposal for our meetings.

In supporting the adoption of the report the Rev. A. M. Tabard made the following remarks:—

SIR HUGH DALY AND GENTLEMEN,—Before moving the adoption of the report I should like to make a few remarks on certain points connected with the welfare of the Society. The most important is in connexion with the object of the Mythic Society. I am afraid that an idea has got abroad that our Society is meant only for an *élite* and I have heard it described as the 'intellectual aristocracy' of Bangalore. Nothing could be further from the original idea of its founders and the low rate of subscription ought to be a proof that it is open to all who are interested in the history, archæology, ethnology and religions of India. The aim of the Society is to be popular and consequently to enlist the sympathies of all, for all are no doubt interested, were it only in a remote way, in these fascinating subjects: Europeans, who have to make India their home for the best part of their life, Indians who have every reason to be proud of the land of their birth.

Yet how often have I met with Europeans who had lived years in India and were only too ready, for instance, to date Indian history from the Moghul invasion and who had only a vague notion that Southern India also can boast of a history of her own which, were it but written by a skilful and loving pen, would yield in interest to no other history in the world. How many, to mention Mysore alone, think of this fair province only as a small division of India; who know almost nothing of its early history, political and religious, who have heard only of Tippu Sultan and consider Seringapatam the only place in Mysore deserving a visit; who are totally ignorant of the intricacies of its ethnology or of its architectural beauties, who when looking at a temple are unable to say whether it is of Dravidian or Chalukyan style of architecture, or who pass it by altogether as if the architecture of India were not worthy of more than a casual glance and sometimes a wholesale condemnation. All admit that in coming out to the East, their intention was to study India and more especially that part where their lot was cast, but official duties have soon absorbed their whole energy and few they are who have followed their first inclination.

Even with regard to Indian gentlemen, I have been surprised at times to see that their interest in their native land is not as keen as one might have expected and that there are so few to help to make India better known and consequently better loved. Many are well versed in Sanskrit and could assist in bringing to light interesting manuscripts, many have several vernaculars at their command, all can mix freely with the people and are well acquainted with their habits and customs, some have already revealed themselves masters in discussing questions of historical, archæological and

philosophical interest, but such are still too few, considering the opportunities Indians have, opportunities which are not given to us in the same degree. To both then, Europeans and Indians, the Mythic Society should appeal as it is an attempt, very modest no doubt, yet an attempt to rouse the interest of some and to make up, in the case of others, for the time they cannot devote to studies which, at the same time, they feel ought to be dear to any man who has to spend, were it only a few years of his life, in this wonderful land.

I have been told that some have not joined the Society on account of the erroneous impression they were under, that they would be asked to speak at public meetings or to contribute papers or articles to our Journal. Not feeling equal to the task, they felt safer in withholding their moral support from the Society.

In many cases I am sure it is a question of misplaced modesty. Our Journal is not a literary review. What we want are facts or the result of personal observations and we shall always welcome any contribution calculated to throw a new light on the subjects which form the scope of the Society. This applies to all but in an especial manner to our mofussil members. Living as they do among the people, knowing the country well, they can be of incalculable help to us in questions of ethnography or ethnology and in this practical form they can show their interest in the Society as we have here in Bangalore men to whom we can safely leave the historical, religious and philosophical questions relating to Southern India. Those who think they have nothing to say but who would fain learn what others may happen to know will find that opportunity to learn by becoming members of the Society or at least subscribers to the Journal.

The Society and its Journal have already met with precious encouragement from learned men and Societies in England. We in India, must not lag behind and I appeal to you, Gentlemen, to join us in our endeavours to increase the membership of the Society. Your Committee are determined not to rest till the membership has reached a thousand. This appeal ought, it seems to me, to be all the more successful at a time when the attention of the Government of India is engaged upon devising means for the founding of an Oriental School, whose services to India, if it ever comes into existence, will be of incalculable value, and when on the Continent as well as in England new interest—I might call it enthusiasm—has been aroused regarding anything connected with the East.

The Journal must be the means to attain that end. It has during the last session—and I hope all will agree with me in that—maintained its standard of excellence—'Numismatics with special relation to South India' by the greatest authority on Indian Numismatics, Diwan Bahadur T. Desika Chariar, B.A., B.L., 'The Diamonds of South India,' by Mr. Sampat

Statement of Accounts from April 1, 1912 to June 30, 1913

RECEIPTS				AMOUNT			EXPENDITURE			
				RS	A	P				
By opening balance	..	..	..	109	2	8	To Printing and Stationery	..	..	..
„ Members' Subscription :—							„ Postage	..	..	..
	RS	A	P				„ Clerk's fee	..	..	..
Resident ..	..	375	4 0				„ Contingent charges for rail charge, etc.	..	..	..
Mofussil ..	..	249	10 0				Balance on hand	..	..	..
Sale of Journals	..	52	12 0							
	—————	677	10 0	677	10	0				
Total ..				786	12	8	Total ..			

Balance Statement

ASSETS				AMOUNT			LIABILITIES			
				RS	A	P				
To Balance of cash with the Treasurer on June 30, 1913.				3	9	8	To bill due to S.P.C.K. Press for printing since December, 1912			
,, Subscriptions due				599	0	0	Credit balance			
Total ..				602	9	8	Total ..			

Number of members—

Resident 120, Mofussil 130, Subscribers 11 and Student 1.

Journals in stock, Vol. I—III. i.e. 2,618 at 12 annas each ; nominal value, Rs. 1,968-8-0.

LAL BAGH HOUSE, BANGALORE,
8th July, 1913.

G. H. KRUM
Honorary

Aiyangar, M.A., will be admitted by all to be of no ordinary value—the papers on ‘Śraddha’ by Mr. B. Narayan Aiyangar, is bound to attract attention far beyond the limits of India or even of England, ‘Talkad’ by Mr. R. Narasimhachar, M.A., M.R.A.S., the sympathetic and learned officer in charge of Archaeological Research in Mysore, shows that when Indian gentlemen interest themselves in the study of archæology, they are second to none in that branch. ‘Bijapur’ by the Rev. A. Slater, with its carefully selected illustrations, would not be out of place in a journal of higher pretensions than ours,—‘The History of the Syrian Church’ and ‘Sravana Belgola’ have not been devoid of interest. I might also mention the notes and extracts which are an appreciated feature of our Quarterly.

At the same time we feel that perhaps something more may be done to make the Journal more popular. I would not be surprised if it were to a certain extent responsible for the idea that the Society is meant only for men whose bent of mind is too scientific for the masses. It presents itself no doubt with a scientific aspect, with its large pages full of weighty matter and articles which most of them require careful perusal and a great deal of sustained attention. So we mean to devote in future more room to reviews of books, occasional notes, queries and answers, cuttings and reprints, and to admit articles treating of subjects relating to India of a more general, if perhaps less scientific interest.

It is also under contemplation to set apart a few pages in each number for translations of foreign works bearing on Indian subjects. French and German *savants* have long since recognized the importance and interest of those studies. Their works are not readily accessible to most of the readers of our *Quarterly* and we feel certain that this novel feature of the Journal of the Mythic Society will bring us a large number of new subscribers. The first number of Volume IV will contain the translation of the Introduction to the Br̥hatkathā-ślokaśamgraha by the eminent French *savant*, M. Felix Lacôte, and with the kind permission of the author we hope to publish a translation of the whole work in subsequent numbers.

The dates of issue for the Journal are August 1, November 1, February 1, and May 1. Our Editor has promised that he will arrange that, as far as possible, each number may see the light on the appointed day. This promise ought also to go far towards showing our members and subscribers that no effort will be spared to make the Journal the best advertisement for our Society. The question of a library and of a habitation has not been lost sight of, but we are afraid that it must be held over till such time as some generous benefactor comes forward to enable us to convert into a reality that long and much cherished dream of the founders of the Society.

Now, Gentlemen, it only remains for me to express the hope that the Mythic Society may have a bright future before it, to wish it every success and to move that the report for the session ending June, 1913, be adopted.

Mr. V. P. Madhava Rao, B.A, C.I.E., seconded the proposition in the following terms:—

SIR HUGH DALY AND GENTLEMEN,—It gives me great pleasure to second the proposition of our President. As one of the members associated with the Council in the capacity of a Vice-President, I am aware of some of the difficulties which the Council had to overcome in carrying on the work of the Society and it is a matter for sincere gratification that, with the difficulties they have had to contend with, the Society has such a good record to show of work done during the past session. The number of papers is not perhaps as large as usual, but you will all admit that the variety of matter provided in the Journal more than makes up for any shortage in this direction. After all, as far as the general reader is concerned it is the short notices and reviews that largely engage his interest. I am sure I am only expressing the general feeling of the members when I say that the work of the past session is at least quite as good as that of any of the previous years.

One point touched upon both in the report and in the President's address would bear repetition and that is that the object of the Society would be better advanced and its usefulness greatly enhanced if there were more active co-operation on the part of the members. This co-operation may be in the way of securing more members to the Society, contributing articles themselves or inducing people whom they know to be both willing and able to assist the Committee to make the Journal still more interesting and more popular.

With these remarks I beg to commend the proposition to the acceptance of this meeting. The proposition being put to the vote was carried unanimously.

The next item of the agenda was the election of the President for the coming session.

Mr. P. B. Warburton proposed that the Rev. A. M. Tabard be re-elected President for another year.

Father Tabard, he said, was one of the original founders of the Society and has been the President practically during the whole of its existence. He did not think that they would ever find a man more devoted to the interests of the Society than Father Tabard or one more fitted to preside over its destinies. That no doubt meant a great deal of additional work for the Rev. gentleman and perhaps few could realize the amount of time the President of a Society like this must spend in order to make it a success. They were fortunate in having such a man in Father Tabard and he felt sure that he was voicing the feelings of every member of the Society in proposing that he be re-elected President for the coming session.

In seconding the proposition, the Rev. F. Goodwill expressed his great pleasure in having been allotted that pleasing task. Being himself one of

the original members of the Society, he had been associated with Father Tabard from the very first and he could say from personal experience that no one was more fitted intellectually or otherwise to be the head of the Society. He had been more active than any one else in promoting its welfare, but he thought that perhaps they wanted him still more for his good cheer and good heart. Speaking personally from experience, he was aware that the President's good cheer and good heart had gone a long way towards the success of the Society. Speaking of himself he said that though he had already more to do than he could cope with, Father Tabard with his genial smile and well-known winning manner had only to ask him anything in connection with the Society and he felt that he could not possibly refuse but that he had to try to comply with his wishes to the best of his ability.

The proposition was then carried with acclamation.

The Rev. Father Tabard, in a few well chosen words, thanked Mr. Warburton and Mr. Goodwill for their very kind reference to him and all the members present for the way they had received the proposal that he should be re-elected President. He accepted with great pleasure the honour and would do his utmost to promote the welfare of the society in future as he had done in the past. But he wished to share the praises with which he had been overwhelmed with his right hand man, the Secretary, Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, with the Editor, Mr. Sell, the Treasurer, Mr. Krumbiegel, who are devoted to the interest of the Society and who, more than he, have helped to make it a success. He then begged leave to propose the following gentlemen as members of the Executive Committee for the coming session :—

Vice Presidents—Messrs. V. P. Madhava Rao, B.A., C.I.E.; P. B. Warburton, I.C.S. and Dr. Morris W. Travers, F.R.S.

Editor—Mr. F. R. Sell, M.A.

Honorary Treasurer.—Mr. G. H. Krumbiegel, F.R.H.S.

Joint Secretaries.—Mr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., M.R.A.S., F.R.HIST.S., F.M.U., and the Rev. F. Goodwill.

Branch Secretaries.—For Ethnology, Mr. P. Sampat Aiyangar, M.A.; for History, Mr. C. S. Balasundram Iyer, B.A.; for Religions, Rev. A. R. Fuller, B.A.

Committee.—The above ex-officio and Dr. P. S. Achyuta Rao, L.M.S., Dr. S. V. Ramasami Aiyangar, M.D., L.B.C.P., D.S. (Edin.), L.F.P.P.S. (Glas); Messrs. R. A. Narasimhachar, M.A., M.B.A.S.; E. P. Metcalfe, B.Sc., A. C. Bull and K. Chandy, B.A.

This was duly seconded by Mr. B. P. Annasawmy Mudaliar and carried unanimously.

The Honourable the Resident rose amid loud applause and spoke to the following effect :—

It is with great pleasure that I take some part in this meeting. I may confess at once that I am one of those who are not qualified either

to lecture or to discuss, but I will say that I have gone carefully through all the papers published in the Journal with, I hope, great benefit to myself. During the tour in which His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore kindly took us all over the Province, our pleasure was greatly increased by the knowledge that we derived from the information we got from the Journal of the Society. I may mention now, especially, the paper on Sravana Belgola, which was of great assistance when we visited the two famous hills, and this by the way leads me to say that I am greatly indebted to Father Tabard not only in that direction but also for drawing my attention to the particular articles which he knew would be of special help to me.

With regard to the Society we all sympathize with the ambition that the Secretary has expressed in the report that every one in Southern India interested in the work of the Society should become a member of this Society. At any rate we hope that Father Tabard's more modest desire for 1,000 members will be soon accomplished. I do not know how many months it may take to attain that, but the Comptroller, Mr. Chakravarti, ought to be able to tell us at once.

I was myself till to-day imperfectly acquainted with the aims of the Society and perhaps I did not do all that I might have done, but I feel sure that Father Tabard's most eloquent appeal to the members of the Society will go far to advance the work of the Society and I shall say for my part that I promise to do my best to assist him, to make it more widely known and to increase the membership.

The Rev. L. Froger proposed a vote of thanks to the Hon'ble. Colonel Sir Hugh Daly for having kindly consented to preside that evening. The proposal, duly seconded by Dr. Achyuta Rao, was carried by acclamation. This brought a most interesting and successful meeting to a close.

We may add for the information of would-be members that applications for membership may be addressed to the Rev. A. M. Tabard, President, the Cathedral, Bangalore, or to Mr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, Central College, Bangalore, or to Mr. G. H. Krumbiegel, Lal Bagh, Bangalore.

The subscription for resident members is Rs. 5 per annum, for mofussil members Rs 3 per annum.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES

By B. NARAYAN AIYANGAR

I

THE funeral ceremonies of the Tamil Śrivaishṇava Brahmans following the school of Āpastamba of the Kṛishṇa-Yajurvedins will be outlined in this paper in accordance with the work called *Pitṛimedhasāra* of Venkaṭanātha who had the title of Vaidika-sārvabhauma. That work is in the form of aphorisms with a commentary called *Sudhivilochana* composed by the author himself. The first part of this paper will treat of cremation and the second part of ceremonies to be performed till the twelfth day after death.

Venkaṭanātha quotes Āpastamba's Sūtras and also their commentator in many places. Āpastamba's Sūtras about the funerals does not form part of his *Grihya* and *Dharma Sūtrās* and does not appear to have been printed as yet. The funeral mantras of the Kṛishṇa-Yajurvedins are found in *Prapāṭhaka* IV of the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka*¹. That *Prapāṭhaka* consists of twelve *Anuvākas* or chapters.

The funerals are of two kinds called *Brahma-medha* and *Pitṛi-medha*, the former being intended for Āhitāgnins or those householders who performed the animal sacrifices, such as *Soma-yāga* and maintained the three fires continuously till death; and the latter for the ordinary householders who perform their Vedic rites in a single fire kindled on occasions of those rites. The *Pitṛi-medha* mantras are used in the *Brahma-medha* also, prefixed in each of the several rites by certain texts selected from *Prapāṭhaka* III of the same *Āraṇyaka*. The *Pitṛi-medha* mantras are very ancient as many of them are found in the *Rig-veda Samhitā* also. In this paper I content myself with referring to the mantras of the *Pitṛi-medha* only, sometimes briefly, sometimes in some detail. I request my hearers kindly to pardon the clumsiness of my rendering of these archaic mantras and carefully to examine my constructions and opinions before accepting them.

One word as a preamble. In sacrifices the *vapā* or omentum of the *paśu*, generally the goat that is sacrificed, is the substitute for the sacrificer himself². By this vicarious sacrifice of himself into *Agni* he becomes

¹ *Bibliotheca Sanskrita*, No. 26, Mysore Government Oriental Series, with Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara's commentary.

² *Vide* the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* II. 11. (Dr. Martin Haug's edition); also the '*Satāpata Brāhmaṇa*' translated by Dr. Julius Eggeling '*Sacred Books of the East*' about the idea of the '*paśu*' being a substitute for the sacrificer himself.

pure and fit to hold spiritual communion with the gods and to enjoy the divine beverage, the Soma. When on the death of the sacrificer his body is consigned to the fire, this is called *Antyāhuti* or his last oblation, performed through his son. It is also called *Purushāhuti* or the offering of the human body, for even though human sacrifice may not be actually performed, a human being, compared with the goat, etc., is theoretically the best burnt offering; and he who offered himself into the fire by means of the substitute during his life-time is now offered up bodily as *Purushāhuti*. The ordinary householders, also, are entitled to be offered up to Agni, for although they have not performed the animal sacrifice still they perform their Vedic rites through the sacred fire and offer themselves spiritually in their daily *Sandhyā* worship unto the sun-god in the morning and Agni in the evening.

The person who is about to die must be removed from the cot and laid down on the ground on a clean mat spread over with a few blades of sacred *darbha* grass. His head must point to the south. Then in his right ear the eldest son, or in his absence the next son, or in his absence some only else, mutters a Vedic text from the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (i. 5. 7. 1). It describes the process of the exit of the soul from the body and its ascent through the three stations of earth, air and sky to Svar, the brilliant region.

The deceased's sons bathe in cold water. The eldest commences the rituals, wearing his sacred thread in the *Prāchīnāvīti* (left-way down from the right shoulder) form and allowing the hair of his *Śikhā* to hang down as a mark of mourning. It is he who recites the mantras in all the rites to the dictation of the priest, the other sons standing by.

The body is washed and ornamented with the sacred marks and flowers, preferably *Nalada* flowers if they can be had, and is laid on mother earth with head towards the south, whilst a mantra (*Taittirīya Samhita*, i. 4. 41. 1.) is addressed to the goddess of earth, the resting place of all.

Then after repetition of the first of the funeral mantras (*Taitt. Ār.* iv. 1. 1. which is the same as *Rig-veda*, x. 14. 1), a ghee offering is made into the sacred fire for the God Yama Vaivasvata, who knows the ways by which men ought to proceed here; who moves all about [watching good or bad deeds] among men; and who is the [door to the respective] *Samgamana*, destination, of the (departed) men. When making this offering a link is made between the body of the deceased and the fire by means of a thread one end of which touches the body and the other the fire place.

Then the body is shrouded in a new cloth during the repetition of the second mantra (iv. 1. 2) which is to this effect: 'This new cloth has come to thee; cast off the old one, and look on thy *ishtāpūrta* (i.e. sacrifices and good deeds) and the charities given by thee in diverse manner to (deserving) men.' This implies that righteousness derived by good deeds here is the wealth that accompanies the good departed soul.

Then after repetition of the third mantra (iv. 1. 3) two horses are to be yoked to the chariot in which the body is to be carried. As the present custom is to have the bier carried by four men, the same mantra is used when appointing them as the bearers. The mantra is to this effect: 'I yoke these two horses for thee for the sake of asunītha,¹ soul's journey; carried by them dost thou go to the abode of Yama and the Sukrits.' Sukrits, literally good-doers, are the good souls that departed from here to Yama's abode, which should not be confounded with hell, for good-doers do not go to hell but to where the Vedic Gods and the Fathers are, as will be seen further on. The horses that are yoked here would seem to symbolize invisible aëreal conveyance of the spirit-world, for the object is to send the departed to the abode of the Sukrits, and only the conveyance of the spirit-world can go there.

Then the body is lifted up and marched out of the village with feet forward, the son carrying the sacred fire in a pot in front of the body, thus leading the way. It is said that misfortune will happen to the village if the body is removed with head foremost, as in that case its look will fall on the village. During the march outside the village the bier is placed down on the ground with head towards the south in three places one after another and a handful of soaked rice, etc., is thrown on the ground as a sort of offering, it is said, to the invisible beings infesting the way. In each of those three places the sons, beginning from the last son, go round the body thrice from left to right (*pradakshina*) and then thrice from right to left (*apradakshina*). In doing the *pradakshina*, the right half of the śikhā hair is tied up leaving the left half loose, while in doing the *apradakshina* the left half is tied up leaving the right half loose. There are no mantras for throwing down the handful of rice nor for going round the body. It is, however, old custom mentioned by the Sūtrakāra Āpastamba.

It must be mentioned here that when the bier is lifted up first from the front of the house and then successively from the first and second places on the way outside the village three mantras (iv. 1.4=6, found also in *Rig-veda* x. 17) addressed to the god Pūshan, are repeated one at each place respectively. They are to this effect:

May the Pūshan, whose kine are never lost, the protector of beings,
and one who knows [the path to the spirit-world], move thee up
from here and deliver thee to the Fathers; may Agni (deliver thee)
to the (all-) knowing Devas.

¹The commentator Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara takes the word asunītha as a-sunītha and construes it as *appraṣasta*. The sense, according to him, is 'I yoke the horses for carrying thee for the purpose of the rather *not excellent* funeral rite. But this cannot be the meaning. The word should, I think, be divided as *asu-nītha*. In the Veda *asu* has the double meaning of breath and soul. There is the Vedic word *asu-nīti* which is rendered in Dr. Macdonell's dictionary as 'spirit life, spirit-world.' *Nītha*, among other things, means path, *vide* the same dictionary; and so *asu-nītha* would mean the soul's path or journey.

Pūshan, the bestower of well-being (svasti) knows all these directions. May he, who is accompanied by valiant followers, go forward leading us (i.e. the departed father of the sons) by a path that is *abhaya-tama*, superlatively free from fear or danger.

May Āyu (the ever living god), the life of all (Viṣvāyuḥ) protect thee; may Pūshan protect thee in the path that leads forward; may Savitar place thee there where the Sukṛits have gone to and where they are.

Pūshan is one of the names of the sun-god in his aspect as the pastoral god. He is described in Dr. Macdonell's dictionary thus: 'A Vedic deity, keeper of flocks and herds and bringer of prosperity; being a sun-god, he surveys all things and acts as a conductor on journeys and on the way to the next world.' Savitar is another name of the sun-god.

When the body is lifted up from the third place out of the village, the last mantra that had been repeated at the second place is again repeated, there being no separate mantra for it.

Then the body is taken to the place of cremation. That place is swept with a green Palāṣa branch (or in its absence with any other green branch) in order to drive away evil spirits. The text (iv, 6. 4, which is the same as *Rig-veda*, x. 14. 9) is to this effect:

Ye that are old, and Ye that are new that are here! go away, altogether away from hence. May Yama give to him (i. e. the deceased person) this place [for cremation], (a place) made pure by clear showers and by days and nights (meaning evidently by the rays of the sun and moon).

This verse occurs also in the *Taittirīya Samhitā* ii. 2. 4. 1 where its second half reads: 'Yama has given him this place; yea, the Fathers have made for him this loka, region [from which to go to the other world after cremation]'. In practice the Samhitā text is used, and not the text of the Āraṇyaka.

Then the funeral pyre is prepared and the body is placed on it with head to the south. The fire brought in the pot is taken down and prepared in a certain ritualistic manner, so as to make it fit to be applied to the pyre.

It may be mentioned here that before the body is clothed with the new cloth the two big toes of the legs will have been tied together, as also the two thumbs, and the hands placed over the chest. But when the body is placed on the pyre the ties are removed. The cloth also is removed and thrown away and taken by the Pariah who watches the cremation ground. Venkatanātha says that the body should not be cremated quite naked, but that a piece of the cloth should be left on the body to cover the nudity.

According to Sātyāyana, the right side of the abdomen of the body should be ripped open in order to make the entrails nishpurīṣha, free from excrement, but this is condemned by Āpastamba and other Sūtrakāras and is not in vogue.

1 come four verses (iv. 1. 7-10) which are now obsolete, as they are immolating a cow.¹ She is described as leading the departed soul to Brahma, the world of the Fathers.

The next two verses (iv. 1. 11 and 12, the last of which is the same as *Rig-veda* 18. 8), the first is about the deceased's widow lying down near the pyre in great grief, and the second is to be repeated by the deceased's brother. Commentators differ about the meaning of this verse, some say that it means the younger brother's consoling her that he would raise her, a custom called *Niyoga*. As this custom has become obsolete, the *Upanishads* prohibit the use of these two verses.

1 comes the next verse (iv. 1. 13). In the case of the Brahman, a gold coin is brought in contact with the hand of the deceased and taken by the son saying in the first half of the verse that he (thereby) takes his wealth, vedic knowledge, splendour and strength, while in the second half he says: 'Be thou here [i.e. in the spirit world symbolized by the nether world ground given by Yama], and we shall be here (in this living world) enjoying [our term of life], conquering all our enemies [by the power from you].' In the case of the Kshatriya and Vaisya respectively a diamond and a gem (*mani*) are taken from the hand of the deceased, using the same verse by substituting the words bow, gem, etc., in the first half of it. The same is found in the *Rig-veda* also (x. 18. 9), but there, only the taking of the bow and thereby imbibing *kshatram*, martial power, is mentioned. This is in harmony with the second half which speaks of conquering the enemies. In the case of the Āhitagnin all the utensils used by him in the daily worship are placed in three fires are filled with their respective contents and placed on the three parts of the body. One of the utensils is *chamaśa*, the wooden bowl in which the deceased had offered oblations to the Devas. In verse 14 the God Agni who will presently cremate the body is asked to take care of this Deva-pāna cup. 'It is very dear to the Devas that delight in Soma drink. May the immortal Devas drink their exhilarating drinks.' This seems to imply that although the perishable form of the cup is used up here, it goes to the gods in some imperishable form.

The next verse 15 (which is obsolete) is about covering the body of the deceased with the pieces of the immolated cow limb for limb, placing the hide (with tail and horns) over all. The verse seems to picture the deceased thus covered over to be wearing the stuffy flesh and the Agni's armour as a protection against the onslaught of the cremation fire. As the body becomes one with the fire the fancy is that it wears the armour. The picture seems to imply a distinction between the

probably in the place of this obsolete custom that the dying man presents a cow to a Brahmin as a gift called *Utkrānti-godāna*. Of all the gifts made by the dying man himself if he is conscious or by his sons in his name if he is unconscious, the gift of the cow ranks the highest. If one cannot afford to give a cow, some money is given in her place.

spirit of the god Agni and the visible fire, and between the deceased's body and his spirit or subtle body with which he is to go to the other world.

About the immolation of the cow Bodhāyana's *Grihya-sūtra*, *Pitr-medha* (section i. 7, 1-6; also 9. 9; and 10. 1 and 2¹), is interesting. He calls the cow Rāja-gavī and Anustaranī. He makes it optional either to immolate the cow or to present her as a gift to a Brahman, saying: '*datvā tveva sreyase bhavati iti vijñāyate*', i.e. 'We learn that by giving alone (instead of immolating) he gets more merit.' Probably immolation of the cow was resorted to only in the case of the cremation of a king, seeing that the cow is called Rāja-gavī, king's cow. Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara, while commenting upon the last chapter of the Āraṇyaka, viz. iv. 12, containing six mantras, says that those mantras are intended to be repeated in case of releasing the cow. Indeed the last two mantras distinctly say: 'Do not kill the innocent cow. Let her drink water and eat grass. Release her.'

There are three ceremonies generally done at this time for which there are no mantras. Perhaps these are pre-vedic customs for which there is no warrant in any vedic authority. First the sons and relations of a proximate degree put into the mouth of the corpse, already placed on the pyre, wetted rice. To be allowed to do this is regarded as a right and an honour. The next one is, a coin is placed on the mouth or chest of the corpse. The last is, the son is made to go round the pyre three times with a new earthen pot filled with water on his shoulder, in the side of which a hole is made through which water keeps flowing. After the third round, from left to right, the pot is thrown away backwards over his head.

Then the cremation fire is applied over the chest of the body during the repetition of the next two mantras (iv. 1. 16 and 17; which are the same as *Rig-veda*, x. 1 and 2). They are to this effect:

O Agni, do not scorch this person nor burn his skin and body. As soon as you make him *ṣṛita*, cooked, do you send him up to the Fathers.

As soon as you make him cooked, O Jātavedas, deliver him up to the Fathers. When he goes by this *Asu-niti* or soul's path, he will be in the hands of the Devas.

In the next verse (iv 1. 18; the same as *Rig-veda*, x. 16. 3) the deceased is addressed thus:

May thy eye go to the sun, thy breath to air. Go thou to (the regions of the) earth and sky, or go thou to (the regions of) water if that suits thee, or be thou among the woods and plants.

This seems to mean what the Upanishads call *Kāmachāra*, free movement in any wished-for regions without obstruction—a thing which cannot be done so long as one is in this mortal body.

¹ *Bibliotheca Sanskrita*, No. 82, pp. 365 and 369.

Then comes another obsolete verse (iv. 1. 19; the same as *Rig-veda*, x. 16. 4) about a goat (aja) to be tied to the pyre. The verse asks the god Agni to take it as his *bhāga*, portion, and carry the deceased in his (Agni's) gracious limbs (evidently meaning his hands) to those lokas, regions, where the Sukrits are. The goat is to be tied to the pyre with a feeble string and Bodhāyana (i. 11. 5) says that should the goat break loose and run away (as it will certainly do) it should not be brought back. This custom is not in vogue now.

In the next mantra (iv. 1. 20) Agni to whom the goat was intended to be offered is addressed as the womb for the person to be cremated and as being the son securing for the father the worlds of the Sukrits. Further on (in iv. 2. 3) Agni is addressed thus: 'You were born from this person (i.e. the deceased sacrificer), may he be born from you again'. This means that he is to be born from Agni's womb in a spiritual form. The father for whom Agni as the son secures the worlds of Sukrits is the sacrificer himself that generated Agni from the churn sticks. It may not be out of place here to refer to two old verses quoted in Bodhāyana's *Grihya-sūtra* (*Bibliotheca Sanskrita*, pp. 155-6). In the first verse *puttra*, the son, is said to be so-called, because he saves his father from hell. The next verse asks: 'How can the son made of flesh, one who is not enlightened and does not perform the (ordained) acts and is unable himself to go to heaven, how can he save his father?' Immediately after this the Sūtra quotes a verse (the same as *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, iii. 7. 7. 10) in which Agni and the sacrificer are mentioned as sons to each other and in which Agni is called the son that secures heaven to his father. So it is clear that the sacrificers looked upon Agni as their saviour son.

On fully igniting the funeral pyre, the son sits in its western side and facing the fire chants (as dictated by the priest) nine hymns (iv. 3. 1-9) in what is called the *Śamsana* form, adding the syllable *Om* at the end of each hymn. These hymns with the exception of the third occur in the *Rig-veda* also (x. 8. 1; 56. 1; 14. 10-12; 154. 1-3) with a few verbal variations.

The first describes the terrible fire in the metaphors of a bellowing bull, of the spreading conflagration illumining the space all around, and of the lightning fire come down from above to take the deceased's soul up.

The second addressing the deceased says:

This one to thee; the further one to thee; with the third light
dost thou come in unison; in (that) unison dost thou flourish
in lovely form, beloved of the Devas, in their highest sadhastha,
abode.¹

¹ Bhaṭṭa Bhaskara, the commentator of the *Āraṇyaka*, takes *this one* to mean this body which is being cremated, *the further one* the body which the soul may have to assume in another birth, and *the third* the brilliant body with which the soul, if so deserving, goes to the heaven of the Devas to enjoy happiness there. I do not think the hymn means any transmigration in another birth.

Instead of *sadhastha* the *Rig-veda* reads *janitra*, birth-place. The *Āraṇyaka* changes this into *sadhastha*, thinking evidently that the birth-place or motherland of the *Devas* is their highest abode. What *this one, the further one and the third light* are is not clear:—I surmise that the soul's ascent through the three stations of earth, mid-region and the sky is meant. They are steps as it were illumined by the deity of sacrifice in the form of the sacrificial fire on the earth, of lightning in the mid-region and of the sun in the sky. Thus ascending by the three steps the soul enters into the third light, namely, the sun in the third region, and remains in a lovely form in the company of the gods in the highest heaven. That form is spiritually brilliant for which the stars are metaphors. The *Taittirīya Samhita* (v. 4. 1. 1) says that the stars are the lights of the *Sukṛits*. We have seen that the funeral mantras speak of the departed sacrificer as going to the company of the *Sukṛits* and the gods.

The third hymn pictures the departed soul as flying up swiftly with golden wings in *nāka*, sky, in the *yonī* or region of Yama,—flying as (if he is) the swift messenger bird of the god Varuṇa, and him (that is flying) do *they* witness with a yearning heart. The word *they* seems to mean the celestial beings on the way.

The fourth, fifth and sixth hymns are about Yama's two terrible dogs that watch the path; they have four eyes each, seeing men [in their good and bad acts]; the departed soul is asked to surpass these dogs by Yama's favour and go by a good path to the Fathers that are enjoying their joys in the company of Yama. The two dogs are probably the personification of day and night, the witnesses of men's good and bad deeds. If so the inference is that only the good-doers will be allowed by the dogs to reach Yama.

The remaining three verses are to this effect:

In heaven for some souls the soma juice is flowing, for others there is *ghṛita* to enjoy, for others yet, there is a current of honey. May this departed soul go to them.

Those heroes who fought and died on the battle field, those that distributed largesses thousand-fold (in sacrifices), may this departed soul go to them.

Those who by their *tapas* (austerity) were invincible, who went to heaven by the merit of the great *tapas* which they performed, may this departed soul go to them.

Then, on the western side of the pyre, three small pits are dug one after another from south to north, the last being the largest in size; they are strewn with a little sand and a few pebbles or small stones and filled with water, to represent three rivers in miniature. The sons beginning from the youngest, sprinkle the water of the pits over their heads, to signify (as the mantra iv. 3. 10, that is then used, says) that having dipped themselves in them and thereby washed off all their unhappiness, they have emerged from them towards happiness.

Then two branches of Palāṣa or Śamī (*Butea frondosa*) are fixed apart, like two *torana* posts, a string made of *darbha* grass is held up over the intervening space, and the sons beginning from the youngest pass through between the posts and under the string. At last when the first son (the performer of the funerals) passes through it, he repeats the mantra iv. 3. 11, snaps asunder the string into two parts and casts them off separately in the direction of the south or south-west, while repeating the mantra iv. 3. 12, he pulls up the two branches and throws them away. Of these two mantras the first is about the god Savitar's extensive *pavitra* or purifying strainer that exists in *antariksha*, mid-region or sky, showering down thousands of continuous currents (*sahasradhāram*). The strainer is either the rain-cloud or the solar *corona* through which Savitar's rays are showered down, for the commentator takes Savitar's *pavitra* to be a network of rays (*raṣmi-jālam*). *Pavitra* means also the sacrificial *darbha* grass.

The meaning of the other mantra (12) is difficult to comprehend. It seems to say :

Those branches that had [almost] died go way from the fallen kingdom, wishing for a king ; they were all cleansed by Pavana, (the breeze) of Dhātṛi, (Creator). May they enable us to get offspring, wealth and splendour.¹

Whatever this mantra may mean, one thing is clear and that is that it mentions the purifying Pavana or breeze. Taking together the three acts connected with the three mantras (iv. 3. 10-12), we get the fact of the survivors leaving the cremation ground purifying themselves by the three purifiers, viz. water, sun-light and wind,—the first stored in the three pits, the second represented by the *darbha* grass held overhead as Savitar's *pavitra*, while the third seems to be represented by the two branches. By passing through all these the misfortune caused by the death of the departed person is absorbed as it were by them, like the dirt of the body absorbed in water in the act of bathing, and by throwing them away the misfortune is cast off.

¹ The word for the branches is in the Sanskrit plural, *sākhāḥ*, so it means more than two branches. As a mere guess work I picture the intended meaning thus : A king's army meets with a great defeat and the king himself is killed on the battle-field. The branches are the survivors of the army destroyed ; they too had fallen down almost dead all about (*abhi mrīṭāḥ*), but Pavana, the life-reviving breeze, kindly sent by the Creator, cleanses them, i.e. clears them from their swoon, and they go away from the place of the fallen *rāshtra* (kingdom), i.e. the fallen king, to the capital, wishing for a new king in his son, who, be it supposed, collects together a new army and gains victory. Even so death demolishes the head of the family and the sorrow-stricken survivors, dispose of his body and go home. If we take 'they' in the last sentence to mean not the branches themselves but the Creator's favours that attended upon them in the shape of the life-reviving breeze, the survivors, when going home, pray that the same favours may attend upon them and enable them to re-establish the fallen homestead and even increase it. Hence the prayer for offspring, etc.

Then looking up at the sun and repeating iv. 3. 13, the sons and relations of the deceased retire from the cremation ground without looking back and then, going to a river, tank or pond, take a complete bath, repeating iv. 3. 14.

Then there are certain ceremonies to be performed on that day and also the daily ceremonies of the succeeding ten days. Before giving an outline of them, I shall describe the ceremony of *Sanchayana* or the collecting of the bones of the cremated body. There is much conflict among the Smṛiti texts as to the day on which this rite should be performed, the majority of the texts mentioning the fourth day in the case of the Brahman caste. In practice, however, it is performed generally on the day after the cremation.

On that morning all the sons led by the first son go to the cremation ground accompanied by the priest and others. Making sure that the body has been well burnt up, the first son, the performer of the rite, takes a little water mixed with milk, and sprinkles it over such of the bones as may be visible in the heap, repeating five mantras (iv. 4. 1-5). The sprinkling is to be done by means of a twig of the Udumbara tree. Of the five mantras (iv. 4. 1-5) the second and third are the same as *Rig-veda*, x. 16. 13 and 14.

The purport of the first two of the five mantras is this :

O Agni, you whom we kindled in order to cremate the deceased we are now going to quench with milk and water.

O Agni him whom you have burnt up you (yourself) make cool ; and let kyāmbu and pāka-dūrvā grow over this ground.

Kyāmbu is explained by the commentator to be a kind of *śaivāla*, aquatic plant. Pāka-dūrvā is young millet-grass.

In the next three mantras the water that is to be poured over the heap is likened to the waters of rivers, ponds, sea, dew and showers of rain.

Then after a few embers from the southern side of the heap are taken out a fire is made and three ghee offerings are made into it whilst the next three mantras are repeated. The first is addressed to Agni and the other two to the departed. Their purport is this :

He who was offered up unto you, O Agni, send him forth again [from your womb] for the Fathers ;¹ [for sprung from you] he will move about [freely] with his Svadhā joy. Clothed in [immortal] life may he enjoy his portion or due ; let him have his [celestial] body¹.

Meet with the Fathers, with the Svadhā enjoyment, with (the fruit of) your charities, in the highest heaven ; and wherever you wish to go, go there [freely] ; may the god Savitar place you there.

¹ He was born from his father here, that was his birth once ; but everything does not end with death ; there is a good hereafter for the good soul ; so he is to be born *again*, this time in a celestial form, sprung from the womb of Agni himself and going to the Fathers as their worthy youngster. The original for portion is *Śesha* which in this connexion means, I think, his due, just as the Devas enjoy their *dhāga* share or due.

Whatever hurt was done to you by the black bird, the ant, the serpent, or the beast of prey, may Agni and Soma, the drink of the Brāhmins, make you free from malady.

Man in his life here is subject to all kinds of ailments and injuries, and there is the dream world for every one to see himself as if actually attacked by snakes and tigers. But in the life with the gods and Fathers he is free from all kinds of ailments of body and mind and enjoys his Svadhā with power to travel anywhere at will.

Then the smouldering fire of the burnt up pyre is quenched and cooled by water brought off and on in an odd number of pots. The number should be odd, so a single pot may be used. Then stepping in with left foot forward the bones are to be picked up with left hand to which a Bṛihatī¹ fruit will have been tied with a thread of blue and red colour. The position of the bones is to be well noted and then they are to be picked up with closed eyes and put into an earthen pot. The skull and teeth are first picked up and the mantra iv. 4. 9, is repeated and then the other bones with the repetition of the next mantra (iv. 4, 10) bit by bit. This mantra is the same as iv. 3. 2: 'This one to thee, the further one to thee', etc., already mentioned and explained in connexion with the cremation. The bones of the shoulder and arm are picked up by saying, 'this one to thee'; of the sides, buttocks and thighs by saying, 'the further one to thee'; of the chest and shanks by saying, 'with the third light dost thou come in unison'; and of the feet by saying the last portion of the mantra. I fail to comprehend the suitability of this mantra to the act of collecting the bones. The other mantra (iv. 4. 9) is quite suitable. It says addressing the deceased to this effect:

Get up from here, gather up thy body, not leaving behind a single limb. Whatever region thou likest, thither dost thou go. May the god Savitar place thee there.

Then is put aside the pot of the collected bones to which a little milk, ghee and scented water are offered, and the quenched ashes of the burnt up pyre are made into a heap. Venkatanātha quotes Āpastamba's commentator to say that it is *achāra* or custom to form the heap in the likeness of a human body and place cooked rice together with five cakes, etc., on it for allaying the hunger of the departed person. The fact that he quotes only the commentator and not Āpastamba himself gives the impression that the latter does not say anything about making the heap in human form and placing food on it. The original must be looked into. How can the food be for the departed when his bones have been collected and are kept apart from the heap? In practice the greater portion of the ashes is thrown away or put into water, only a small quantity is heaped up on the spot for the

¹Said to be wild thorny brinjal.

food, etc., to be placed thereon. Bodhāyana (i. 14. 7 and 8) says that the ashes should be heaped and covered over with innumerable small stones in such a way as even a dove may not sit in the shadow of the heap. This seems to mean that the heap should not be high enough even to cover completely by its shadow a dove sitting by it.

Then the pot of the bones is lifted up in order to be sent to a big river and submerged in a deep part of it, or to be buried in a pit which must be as deep as the height of an elephant or a man. The former is the custom in this part of India. When the pot is lifted up the mantra iv. 4, 11 is used. It addresses the departed to this effect:

Get up and speed thyself away.

Make thy abode in the highest heaven.

Being concordant with Yama and Yamī, ascend this highest *nāka*, sky or heaven.

Yamī is the twin sister of the god Yama. As he is the god of *dharma* those only who lead a righteous life are in concordance with him and are fit to go to heaven.

The Sanchayana ritual being thus completed, the act of digging three water pits and of passing through the middle of two green branches and under the *darbha* grass held over head—an act which was performed at the end of the cremation—is performed again at the end of the Sanchayana also, before leaving the cremation ground.

Thus we have gone through many of the mantras about cremation and the collection of the bones, found in the first four chapters of the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka* iv. The fifth chapter is about Yama-yajña, worship of the god Yama which, according to the commentator, is to be performed every month or in the month of Kārtika. This worship, however, is not in vogue now in this part of the country, so far as I know. But one mantra from this chapter is used in the ceremony of the eleventh day which will be referred to further on. The mantras of this chapter reveal the very high notion entertained about the god Yama in the Vedic days. He upholds this earth and the whole universe. In his aspect as the god of death every day creatures flow unto him and yet he is not satisfied. In him good and bad men are sifted, and those only who worship the gods and respect Brahmans (meaning those who are really godly) go to Yama.

The chapters 6 to 9 are about building a sort of sepulchre in which the pot of the bones is to be buried. Bodhāyana devotes four chapters (i. 17-20) to this ceremony, but as there is no commentary to him and as the ceremony is not now in vogue among us, I cannot describe it in any detail. Its main feature seems to be to plough the ground ceremonially, sow it with all kinds of corn in domestic use, build the sepulchre and bury the pot in it, praying to the goddess of earth gently to receive the deceased represented by the bones and furnish him with a wonderful underground mansion having one thousand

pillars, etc. Some of the mantras about the burial are taken from the *Rig-veda* itself (viz. x. 18. 10-13). Certain kinds of grains are strewn over the sepulchre, and five *charus* (i.e. grain boiled in milk, butter, or water) are placed, four in the four directions and one in the middle, together with cakes soaked in milk, ghee, honey, etc. Also, Nala, a kind of reed, is placed there as representing the float to be used by the departed in crossing rivers, etc., during his travels in all the worlds; and Mrityu (Death) is asked to go away to his own path which is other than Devayāna or the path of the gods. The inference is that the good souls that have gone to the gods and the Fathers travel in the same path as the immortal gods, never again returning to the path that leads to death.

An eminent European savant considers that although the Rig-vedic mantras (x. 18. 10-13) about burial are adopted in the later ritual to the case of interment of bones after cremation, still the language, taken in conjunction with *Rig-veda* x. 15. 14, is full of indications of the burial of the corpse itself: 'the earth is to open up, a thousand pillars are to keep it up, houses dropping ghee are to be assigned to the dead, a pillar (*sthūnā*) is to be set up. All these are expressions little fitting the small cavity required by a few charred bones, but admirably reminiscent of the stately tombs of Mycenæ.'¹ These expressions are not, I think, conclusive enough to prove the custom of the burial of the corpse itself, for as the bones are symbolical of the departed himself the cavity can stand metaphorically for the mansion, just as the reed, the water, the sacred grass, the food, etc., represent metaphorically the float, the mighty rivers, the wonderful *pavitra* of the sun-god, the undiminishing abundant Svadhā food, etc. In *Rig-veda*, x. 15. 14, referred to above, the good departed Fathers are called Agni-dagdhas and Anagni-dagdhas, meaning those that were cremated and those not cremated, who all are enjoying themselves in the middle of heaven (*madhye divah*). It was pointed out in the paper on the Srāddha that the Fathers as the regents of the Maghā asterism are also called Agni-dagdhas and Anagni-dagdhas. Who the uncremated were is not clear. Were they the heroes that died on the battle-field and had to be buried or left there for want of convenience to cremate them? Or were they householders who having brought forth children became Sannyāsins afterwards and were buried after death? I am given to understand that in the burial of the bodies of Sannyāsins the mantras above referred to (*Rig-veda*, x. 18. 9-13) are not used.

¹ A. Berriedale Keith, D.C.L., in *J.R.A.S.* (for April, 1912), p. 472.

ESSAI SUR GUNADHYA ET LA BRHATKATHA

BY PROFESSOR FELIX LACÔTE

(Translated by the Rev. Father A. M. Tabard, M.A., M.R.A.S.)

THE following translation of Professor Lacôte's Introduction to his edition of the Sanskrit version of the *Brhatkathā-śloka-saṃgraha*, by Father Tabard, M.R.A.S., is issued in the *Journal of the Mythic Society* as part of a scheme for issuing, as far as may be possible, translations of German and French works bearing on the history, etc., of India. The work *Brhatkathā* of which this is one of the versions extant is believed to have been composed in the Pāṣāṇī, and so far there seems no chance of the original ever seeing the light of day. It was highly spoken of by the critic Dandin whose statement regarding it is 'couched in a very interesting style they say.' This leaves it open whether he had knowledge of the work at first hand. It has none the less exercised considerable influence upon later Sanskrit literature comparable only to that of the mediaeval romances upon European literature. Bāṇa the author of the *Harshacharita* speaks of it in high terms and the author of *Tilakamānjari* two centuries later (tenth century) speaks contemptuously of the authors who took their subjects from this great work, and built up their reputation thereon. The actual works in Sanskrit which drew their subjects therefrom are comparatively large.

This great work is now available to us in a number of versions which claim to be some of them translations, and others abridged versions more or less free. Besides the one under advertence here, there are two Sanskrit versions both from Kashmir. Of these one claims to be a regular translation, and the other an abridged version. The third one edited by Professor Lacôte is from Nepal and forms part of the *Nepal-māhātmya* having for its subject a Śiva shrine in Nepal. The last of them is a version in Tamil of which an edition is under preparation. Very recently Mr. R. A. Narasimhachar has brought to light a reference to another version of the same great work (*J.R.A.S.*, p. 389). It will be seen later on in the course of the translation that the learned editor criticizes some of my positions in regard to the Tamil version. The question is of great importance to students of Sanskrit literature and of Indian history primarily, though those

interested in ethnology and folklore will find very much that is interesting to them.

It looks as though there were no chance of the original being ever discovered, and if perchance it should be, the event would be of the greatest importance in the literary history of the country. The language of the original is Paiśāci as was already mentioned. According to Dr. Grierson, the greatest living authority on the subject, the provenance of this language is, roughly speaking, the North-West Frontier. Tradition as embodied in the several versions of this work would locate this language in the Vindhyan region. This in itself would be a very interesting inquiry.

The author of the original lived according to tradition in the court of Hāla who has been regarded as having ruled at Paitan, the Plithana of the Greeks, in the first century of the Christian era. The late Dr. Buhler and Mr. V. A. Smith are of this opinion; while Dr. Speyer would place him about A.D. 300 at the earliest. This last authority whose study of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, the more elaborate of the two Kashmir versions, is well worth the attention of those interested in these questions, has some remarks to make about the claims put forward in favour of the Nepal version by Professor Lacôte; but it would be anticipating inquiry to make any remarks about this, before having the whole of the views put forward in this connexion by the editor of this version.

It is hoped that the translation will prove to be of great interest to those whose bent of mind leads them on these lines of investigation. The gratitude of such is due to Professor Lacôte for the ready courtesy with which he has permitted the translation being undertaken on behalf of the *Journal of the Mythic Society*, and to Father Tabard who, at considerable sacrifice of time and trouble, has taken upon himself the heavy task of translating the work for the benefit of the members, and of the public interested in the subject. The translation is published under the following conditions:—

- (i) That the author is not responsible for any errors of translation.
- (ii) That passages suppressed or abridged are duly notified then and there.
- (iii) That no reprinted copies are offered for sale.

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR.

INTRODUCTION

THE discovery of a text containing the first part of a third version of the *Brhatkathā* altogether different from the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva and of the *Brhathatkāmanjarī* of Kṣemendra has thrown a new light on the work of *Guṇādhyā* and enables one to discuss afresh the questions relating to it.

The text referred to is that of the *Brhatkathā-ṣlokaśamgraha*. For the detailed study of the manuscripts I refer the reader to the preface of the one edited by me; here I will simply confine myself to the various steps which have led to the discovery just mentioned.

In 1893, Mahāmahopadhyāya Hara Prasād Shāstri found among old Nepalese manuscripts, which had come into the possession of the Bengal Asiatic Society, an undated manuscript which, according to him, was very likely most ancient, anterior even to the twelfth century A.D., containing parts of an unknown text, but which bore, in the colophons of several Sargas, the significative title of *Brhatkathā-ṣlokaśamgraha*. He added that that work must have been of considerable length as the first adhyāya alone comprised more than 4,200 Clokas, and he valued the portion contained in the manuscript to be one-tenth of the whole. He had read the first Sarga which treated of King Gopāla giving up the world because his subjects accused him unjustly of parricide and abdicating in favour of his brother Pālaka, notwithstanding the representations of the Brahmins; that story is not found either in Somadeva or in Kṣemendra. Hara Prasād gave it as a supposition that perhaps this was a voluminous Sanskrit version of the *Brhatkathā* which Somadeva and Kṣemendra had been able to consult at the same time as their original Prākṛit. After that he gave the colophons of the twenty-six Sargas which he said were contained in his manuscript; one could read in them proper names of which several, though he was not aware of it, are found in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and in *Brhatkathāmañjarī*.

That list of colophons was incomplete. The manuscript has twenty-eight of them and not twenty-six; besides, two colophons were not reproduced accurately; the No. 10 Hara Prasād *Kathāśamlāpo*, manuscript *Rathāśamlāpo* and the No. 16 Hara Prasād *Ramyaprabandho*, manuscript *Campāpraveṣo*. One might even be tempted to count more Sargas than there were colophons, for here and there in some chapters longer than usual, there are divisions marked by the use of different metres. As for the division in adhyāyas referred to by Hara Prasād it is quite illusory. The term Prathamodhyāya which is found in the twenty-second colophon (twenty-first of Hara Prasād), means a subdivision of the twenty-second Sarga (*vide infra*. part ii, chap. ii, 2).

Mr. J. Hertel in his edition of the Southern *Pañcatantra*, trying to find out if the *Brhatkathā* would give some indication as to the date of the *Pañcatantra*, has studied the list given by Hara Prasād. With the help of that alone he has attempted to set up a table of concordance between the *Brhatkathā-ṣlokaśamgraha* on the one part and the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and the *Brhatkathāmañjarī* on the other. In spite of the great and ingenious skill and the detailed knowledge of the text of which he has given a proof in that essay, it was impossible that he should come to anything like an accurate result. Given the paucity of the documents on which he was working, it is

marvellous that some of the concordances which he could only have guessed should have proved true. On account of the word 'Samgraha', which appears in the title, Mr. Hertel has thought that the new version might very well be a very much abridged abridgement of the *Brhatkathā*. As he had come across some concordances, which could not be gainsaid, between several chapters of the *Brhatkathā-ḡlokasamgraha* and a few books of the *Kathā-saritsagāra*, concordances to be found at the end as well as at the beginning or the middle of the poem, he has been led to believe that the manuscript, contrary to the opinion of Hara Prasād, might well contain the whole work except the very end. On that point the facts are against him, but he is right on some others. There is no division in adhyāyas in the *ḡlokasamgraha*; the *Kathāpūṭha* is not there and must be an addition posterior to the *Brhatkathā*; many of the stories found in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and the *Brhatkathāmanjarī* must be regarded as interpolated; the Nepalese version, less burdened with material, cannot possibly contain any *Pañcatantra*. On that question, however, the reason given by Mr. Hertel is not the true one. He was of opinion that, if the subject-matter of the *Pañcatantra* was to be found anywhere, it could only be in the tenth Sarga, which he considers as corresponding to the tenth book of Somadeva. The colophon given by Hara Prasād made that supposition likely (*Kathāsamlayonāmas*). It became thus evident that the dimensions of that Sarga, though great, did not allow of a *Pañcatantra*, however abridged, finding a place there. As a matter of fact, the tenth Sarga any more than the others, does not contain any collection of varied stories, and if we are to believe that that *Pañcatantra* never found a place in the *ḡlokasamgraha*, not even in the portion which we do not possess, it is for the general reason that matter of that kind would be absolutely at variance with the rest and would break up the whole arrangement of the plan which is simple and well bound together. I must add, at the same time, that the views of Mr. Hertel on the absolute independence of the *Pañcatantra* from the *Brhatkathā* appear to me to be altogether judicious.

The other manuscripts of the *Brhatkathā-ḡlokasamgraha* have remained hitherto unexplored. Here is the order in which they have been discovered. In 1898, M. S. Levi brought from Nepal an undated manuscript, which he discovered always with an abundance the Sargas from 1 to 10, and he made it known to an who has seen all those *Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*. It is not a fantastic tale but of

In 1906, after his edition of the *Pañcatantra* he received a copy of a manuscript belonging to Kashmiri poets, or rather by Katmandu, which he supposed, from the *Brhatkathā* too coarse, to do Aufrecht to contain the *Pañcatantra*, but it turns before presenting it to an *ḡlokasamgraha*. Gunādhya has exaggerated the

As far back as 1905 Maharaja Chander Shekhar was doing their M. S. Levi to have a search made for the *Brhatkathā* at this characteristic must

The first manuscript found proved to be the *Brhatkathāmanjarī* of Ksemendra. At last was found a manuscript of the *Brhatkathā-ṣloka-samgraha* of which a copy made by the order of the Maharaja, reached France in the month of September, 1906.

Thanks to the courtesy of M. S. Levi, who has kindly entrusted me with his manuscript as well as the copy made by the order of the Maharaja, to that of Mr. J. Hertel who has placed in my hands another copy of which a lucky chance had made him the possessor, to the obliging kindness of the Bengal Asiatic Society which at the solicitation of M. E. Senart and of M. S. Levi has consented to lend its manuscript to the Library of the Paris University, I have been able to gather together all the manuscripts known up to date. It is on them that my edition of the text is based and that, as far as the Nepalese version is concerned, the views propounded in the present work find support.

Its first object is to trace, as far as possible, through the three versions, the original *Brhatkathā*. If ever, which is very unlikely, the original *Brhatkathā* came to light again, I make bold to hope that the facts will confirm the results of my study. In any case my book is a line to line criticism of the three versions, and that I believe cannot but prove to be of some utility.

I must explain now why the *Brhatkathā-ṣloka-samgraha* has made this Essay possible. It is a poem attributed by the last colophon of the most complete manuscripts, to a certain Budhasvāmin, without any other indication of date or place. We possess the first twenty-eight Sargas, making 4,524 Ṣlokas, which contain only the beginning; the last of these Sargas is interrupted in the middle of an episode. That portion, though small if we suppose the whole to have contained several tens of thousands of Ṣlokas, is yet quite sufficient to give us a just idea of the work and to allow us to grasp the plan of it. The differences with regard to the other two versions are enormous. The subject announced at the beginning of the fourth Sarga, after the three Sargas which form the introduction, is the history of Naravāhanadatta son of the king of the Vatsas, Udayana, and the story of the Vidyādhara. It is the same as the principal subject of the ii, chap. ii, 27.

Mr. J. Hertel in his edition, the matter itself are altogether different. The out if the *Brhatkathā* would be dealt with is also quite new. It is no longer *Pañcatantra*, has studied the lines in the order of the books, like those one that alone he has attempted to *Varitsāgara* and the *Brhatkathāmanjarī*, which, *Brhatkathā-ṣloka-samgraha* on things, show a common original. Here we have *Brhatkathāmanjarī* on the other has the same ancestor as the other two, which and the detailed knowledge of the relation to them is several degrees removed. essay, it was impossible that he longer, at least in the author's intention result. Given the paucity of whether it was ever completed. It is also much

simpler, not like the other two versions, which are a collection of various stories. One can see that the author was keen on the proper arrangement of his materials and the necessary qualities of good composition. The subject is strictly limited. No doubt, heroes listen to stories, but to stories which are, if not short, at least closely knit with the action and made one with the narration. One need not be afraid of forgetting the subject of the poem, as it is the adventures of its heroes which are most developed. They are given much more in detail than in the poems of Somadeva and Kṣemendra. If you compare a parallel passage in the three versions you would be tempted to say that Somadeva and Kṣemendra have abridged Budhasvāmin. An obscure detail is suddenly made clear, an allusion which at first sight seemed vague, becomes precise, an epithet which you might not have noticed reveals itself as of quite unexpected value. Even the composition of the two Cashmiri poems has defects which do not attract attention when the poems are read in a cursory way, but which become very striking when one compares them to the *Ḥlokasamgraha*. The differences in the three versions enable us to a certain extent to restore the original. Thus, we are able in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* to separate the elements which belong entirely to the primitive *Brhatkathā* and those which are probably adventitious. That will allow us to determine the characteristics of Gunādhyā's poem and to ascertain accurately the place it has occupied in literary history. That poem will no longer appear as a compilation without originality but as a kind of epic poem 'sui generis'.

We shall have to study its spirit, and it is in that perhaps that the *Ḥlokasamgraha* will do us the greatest service. It bears the stamp of a thorough acquaintance with the habits and customs of the people and is full of details relating to their ordinary life. Its taste for realism seems to me to be its characteristic mark. It has, as it were, a lively local colouring; the country of Kauçambi seems familiar to the author; he not only knows its legends, but he is thoroughly acquainted with all the places around; he notes the distances and describes the various routes; he takes the reader from one end of India to the other and from north to south, to Campa, to Tamralipti, to Mathura of the Pandyas, 'to the land of Gold,' to bring him back to Benares and to the country of the Vatsas, always with an abundance of details, precise and familiar, which denote a man who has seen all those things. Naravahanadatta is no longer only the hero of a fantastic tale but of an extraordinary odyssey, human and realistic. We shall see the same matter strained, reduced and deformed by the Cashmiri poets, or rather by their original, as if he had wanted, finding the *Brhatkathā* too coarse, to do it the service of polishing up its low manners before presenting it to an aristocratic public. Even if one admits that Gunādhyā has exaggerated the popular character of the *Brhatkathā*, while the other authors were doing their utmost to hide it away, one will have to admit that this characteristic must

be attributed to *Guṇāḍhya*, as it has not completely disappeared in the Cashmirian version.

It will be interesting to trace rapidly the sources to which *Guṇāḍhya* is indebted. The substratum of legends on which he has built the story of Pradyota and that of Udayana, perhaps also the fantastic tales on the Vidyadharas and their devotion to Kuvera are more of Buddhist than Brahmanic origin. It will be a good opportunity to group together what we know of them. Lastly we shall attempt to define the influence of *Guṇāḍhya* on later literature and to discuss how far it has been felt.

What we have already said is enough to make one understand why *Guṇāḍhya* has remained a famous name, though his original work soon but ill-known, amputated by some, amplified by others, a prey to all sorts of retouchings under the auspices of a name which had become legendary, has ended by disappearing altogether. The imitators of *Guṇāḍhya* have confiscated to their profit the best part of his glory. If we have been able to give some life to the man and his work we shall esteem ourselves satisfied. Moreover, if the reader considers the ideas we propose for discussion interesting and our deductions reasonable, the whole object of the Essay will have been fulfilled.

As for the method followed, it was made necessary by the nature of the subject itself. It could not be anything but analytic, going from what is modern to what is ancient, from what is known to what is unknown. We meet the documents without any preconceived idea and by studying them in perfect honesty, discussing the possible explanations, comparing facts and texts, our conviction is formed step by step, becoming more precise and strong as we advance in our study.

SOME NOTES ON THE MADRAS CENSUS REPORT

THE Madras Census Report, written by J. C. Molony, Esq., I.C.S., is one of the brightest and most human of official documents. It is full of facts and incidents as well as of figures, and on a great variety of subjects gives valuable information as to the thoughts and practices of the peoples of the Presidency. A study of one such volume will give the new-comer to India vastly more and surer instruction than a score of volumes of 'impressions' and descriptions of short tours.

A glance at some of the figures given will be of service at the outset. During the past forty years the population of the Presidency has increased by 32 per cent, the increase of density of population having risen from 220 to 291 per square mile. It is somewhat surprising to find that the difference in totals between the figures attainable by registration statistics and those of the census is only 378,588, especially when it is remembered that registration of births and deaths is not enforced over the whole of the Presidency. It is significant of the reluctance of the Indian parent to announce the birth

of a daughter in his family that the bulk of the difference relates to the female portion of the population. The gains during the decade are at the rate of 8·3 per cent. which is 1·1 per cent in advance of the increase at the previous census. When the increase of the respective religions is sought, it is found that while Hindus have increased their numbers by only 8 per cent, almost exactly the figures given for the whole natural increase, Muhammadans have progressed by 11 per cent, and Indian Christians by 17 per cent. While the last figure is double that of the natural increase of population, it seems to the present writer rather less than might have been expected, in view of the strenuous and systematic proselytism being prosecuted with the substantial assistance of men and material from Europe and America. The writer of the census report spends several paragraphs tracing the growth of the Christian population to the various churches, both Catholic and Protestant bodies. He closes a most interesting comparison both of the mental attitude to Indian religions and to caste and of the numerical success of the various churches with the remark that 'The practical outcome of the matter is that among high caste people the Roman Catholic Church alone has made appreciable progress', and the conclusion that it seems fair to draw further is that the Protestant churches have made larger proportionate conversions among the lower classes. Another set of figures, perhaps new to most and therefore more impressive, state that the number of Indian Christians in the Presidency is now approximately the same as that of all classes of Brahmans, Christians being 289 per 10,000 of the total population while Brahmans are 313.

It has long been apparent that India generally has an unenviable reputation for the proportion of men to that of women. With a few small exceptions, among which the Balkan States are conspicuous, the world generally reports an excess of female over male life, the average excess being somewhere in the region of fifty to sixty per 1,000. At the last census India reported only 953 women to 1,000 men. Examination of the figures shows that female births are in excess in India as elsewhere in the world, but that various causes, of which the root is the low estimate of women in India, reverse the balance, leaving a total deficit as compared with the vital statistics of other countries of about 100 women when the standard taken is that of 1,000 men. It is gratifying to find that the Presidency is a notable exception to the Indian Empire taken as a whole, there being 1,032 females to 1,000 males. As this proportion has been fairly constant at the last three decennial enumerations, and as the disparity is on the increase, there is good reason to believe the figures genuine. But the causes of the exception are not by any means wholly natural, and we may not conclude from it that in South India there is necessarily a higher appreciation and care of female life. The enterprise of the Tamil workman, which carries him in large numbers to labours far afield, is one of the main contributors to the final result, but a

full tale of the causes that influence the balance in favour of women is apparently not yet available. It is clear that even in the Presidency there is a great wastage of female life at the normal child-bearing age of women. The following quotation is made from a speech made by Lt.-Col. Giffard, I.M.S., at the opening of a new Medical School in connexion with the Maternity Hospital at Madras, and it sheds a lurid light on the life of Indian women. 'Midwifery in India is still in an awful condition. It is the common habit and custom in almost all districts to hand over the women in labour to the care of one of the dirtiest, most backward, illiterate, ignorant and superstitious classes, the barber midwife. The result of this custom is that untold misery, and unnumbered unnecessary deaths, are meted out to the parturient women of this country by these untrained and unclean practitioners. I do not exaggerate. Every medical practitioner in this country will substantiate this statement.' Our readers will remember that it is a common belief among the superstitious throughout the world that women dying in childbirth become haunting ghosts of the most malignant description. The belief is held by the Khonds and many other undeveloped classes in the Presidency, and various are the devices adopted to prevent the mischievous visits of these unfortunate ladies. If half the anxiety and money expended *post mortem* were spent in the right treatment and nourishment of women in their hour of greatest need the result would greatly influence the vital statistics of the country.

The multitudinous rules regarding marriage, relating both to the bride and the bridegroom, especially the absolute necessity of premature girl marriage, have given rise in recent years to a new evil, which is said to have grown to huge proportions among the higher classes where those rules and ideals hold sway. A recent Hindu novelist is quoted on the evils that arise from the enforced purchase of bridegrooms in order to fulfil caste obligations. One of his characters is made to say: 'As for our caste customs and restrictions, can anything good ever come out of such as we now have? Why, if I go to a public prostitute's house for a night, I have to pay her handsomely, and put up with such treatment as she is pleased to accord me. But when a man offers me his virgin daughter, the apple of his eye, the very breath of his nostrils, a veritable gem of innocence and purity, the heiress of a thousand generations of chaste and loving mothers, to be my unconditional bond-slave for life in implicit obedience and unswerving faith; to cook for me, wash for me, nurse me in my sickness, cheer me in my hopes, comfort me in my sorrow, rejoice with me in my happiness, love me for ever, for better and for worse, whether I hate her or return her love; to cherish and guard me like a second mother; to bear me pure and innocent children in infinite pain, and nourish and rear them up with infinite care and trouble to perpetuate my name; I must needs first impoverish and ruin her parents by extorting as much

money as I can from them, and make them involuntarily curse the day when a daughter was born to them.' Correspondence in the newspapers of the country from time to time indicates that the practice of purchasing bridegrooms of suitable caste to ensure the age limit of a girl's marriage not being overstepped has wide observance, and that among the best-educated of the Indian community, and produces evils such as are not too forcibly described in the novel now quoted.

The inward character of the peoples of the Presidency is by no means overlooked by the Census Report. It suggests much in passing phrases. It is suggested that the Indian ryot has found both mental and physical 'salvation in his struggles with Nature,' that the excellencies of the Tamil man are reflected in his mother tongue and that the rough sounds and the strong phrases of Tamil answer to the doggedness and rude strength of the people themselves. It is pointed out also that, while the emigrant Tamil is enterprising and vigorous to an uncommon degree, so that he is the Chinaman of the Empire, too often his fellow who stays on at home is conservative and unprogressive to an extent as remarkable. It is suggestive of the tremendous changes that must ensue in South India when the patient, ignorant Paraiyan of the present day is awakened by education to a sense of his great liberties and opportunities as a man and a citizen in the British Empire. Writing on the philosophy of Hinduism, those characteristic doctrines of the negation of personality and the merging of all forms and actions in the one unchanging Brahman, Mr. Molony questions if climate is not to a large extent responsible for the rise and prevalence of the doctrine, a philosophy which finds little acceptance among the more active and enterprising nations of the west. He says: 'It is questionable whether this doctrine would be possible in a land whose physical circumstances tend to force the sense of personality on mankind. In harsh climates man must bestir himself to live; if he dies he suffers in the process the inconveniences of cold and hunger. He finds it hard to make a living, and the experience of hard work tends to make him work all the harder. In Southern India a living is easily got, food is cheap, clothing more or less unnecessary. Vitality is not great, death is not a rending process so much as a gentle fading away. In the chiefest glory of the southern teachers we can trace climatic influences; if the practically bloodless propaganda of Sankara, Rāmānuja and Mādhva never "made accurst the name of man, and thrice accursed the name of God" still these three apostles scarcely possessed the fiery zeal that won the hearts of men to Paul, Muhammad, Loyala or Wesley.' The subject of the influence of climate and environment on philosophy and religion would repay much more and more scientific attention.

If figures are to be trusted, there is twenty times more insanity in England than in Madras. And the same figures regarding infirmities suggest that among Brahmans there are twice as many lunatics than among

Paraiyans. When the last figures alone are noted it is evident that among educated people there is clearer perception of the real nature of the malady. It is no longer disguised by relatives and friends as due to 'bile' or the result of witchcraft, and the higher attainments of those about the patient show how far he has become affected. Indian peoples appear to be strangely averse to labelling their friends as 'insane', and where the standard of culture is low it is on that account also very easy for outsiders to fail to notice a case of insanity. The comparison with the figures for England suggests that, however much deduction must be made for errors and omissions in the Indian totals, the pressure of life in the west, the rush of business and of other engagements, leave a deep mark on the mental life of the nation. Another comparison must also be noted, and this is greatly to the discredit of Indian life, namely, that while 79 per cent of the insane of England are under treatment in recognized institutions, only 9 per cent of those in the Presidency are receiving medical attention and are under restraint.

It is somewhat surprising to find in the discussion of 'infirmities' that the statistics of the number of the blind are so favourable to India. The number, 81 per 100,000, is almost exactly that of England. When one remembers the large amount of eye trouble due to infectious ophthalmia, the neglect of patients' eyes during serious illnesses, such as small-pox, typhoid and others, and the ignorant and brutal treatment of the eye by Indian *vaidyans*, one would expect that the total burden of blindness would be heavier than it now is. It appears that these specially Indian causes of blindness are balanced by the strains of study and general reading, by the effects of close application to mechanical processes in the course of daily work, and by the general nerve strain to which people in the west are subjected. The dreamy east has its own advantages, and they are often overlooked. There is one cause of blindness mentioned in the Census Report that is very little known, and the spread of information on the subject would save many eyes. It is found after every eclipse visible in India that there are cases of blindness caused by looking at the solar phenomenon either with the naked eye, or through insufficiently protected glass. Though the solar light is greatly reduced in volume, when focussed by the delicate mechanism of the eye, it sometimes burns through the organism and destroys the very centre of vision.

The present writer knows nothing better on the great and thorny subject of caste than the chapters in the two last *General Reports of the Indian Census*. The volume now under discussion does not deal at length, like those more comprehensive works, with the question of the origin of caste and indeed gives nothing strikingly new on the subject. The most interesting questions raised are those relating to caste government. It is noteworthy that the lower castes appear to have the most concrete and definite

arrangements for dealing with the misdemeanours of their members. While members of the more educated classes, or should we say the more modernized communities, have to reckon only with the informal opinion of the society in which they live, the lower classes are still responsible to the formal caste tribunal which immediately and definitely can deal with infractions of caste custom and caste morals. It is evident, further, that in most towns, where western education and ideals have greatest influence, there is a growing fluidity of opinion as to the customs and observances that are obligatory. In matters of dress, worship and, most of all, food, much less rigidity is observable than formerly. It is by no means an uncommon thing to find young Brahmans, Mudaliars and others who are still in caste, and whose conduct is not regarded for a moment as objectionable to their fellow-castemen, taking aerated waters or tea, and cakes or biscuits, freely in public. Caste customs are changing, though it can hardly be said that they are dissolving. If caste were passing away entirely and for ever, probably Mr. Molony would stretch out no hand to stay it, for a slight touch of scorn seems mingled with all his discussion of it. Of its origin he says: 'In India, the Vedantic Aryans, a soma-drinking, cattle-sacrificing, roystering set, brought into contact with an inferior race in an enervating climate, may have felt themselves slipping down the ladder of supremacy, and thus bethought themselves of a system, which, accentuating their exclusiveness, might aid their desperate efforts to maintain the purity of their blood.' Indian writers would probably write with more respect of the origin of caste, and would probably write 'Vedic' for 'Vedantic', but this is probably as near the truth as those descriptions that are fuller of reverence.

F. G.

NUNDIDROOG

At the time when the advanced Ruler of Mysore is engaged in the solution of various economic problems calculated to make his beautiful Province still more self-contained, when with agricultural, industrial and kindred projects on the official anvil of the state, His Highness the Maharajah is also considering the possibilities of a hill-station for Mysore, it is appropriate to refer to the merits of, and the facilities offered by, the famous old hill fortress of Nundidroog. The writer is conscious that at the very outset it is possible to put the proposal out of court owing, firstly, to the close proximity of the place to Bangalore and, secondly, to its limited extent for the purpose of such a sanatorium; but these considerations are obviously outweighed by the circumstance that the only other eligible spot among the Baba Booden Hills is quite fifty miles off the line of railway and otherwise comparatively inaccessible if well removed from the 'maddening crowd.'

Nundidroog, or Nundy as it is better known to many old Mysoreans, is situated thirty-six miles north of Bangalore on the Bellary trunk road. The name indicates, 'The hill of pleasure' and in the eleventh century was dedicated to Nundy, the sacred bull of Siva. That the Sivites appropriated the hill is evident from an old inscription still legible on the stone cave near the bull temple (Nelli Kayi Basava) standing on a ledge on the east which records that a Saiva ascetic from Sriparvata took up his abode there. The elevation is 4,851 feet above sea-level and the summit commands a magnificent panoramic view of the Bangalore and Kolar Districts. There are hundreds of natural reservoirs of water scattered over the country, which form a marked feature of the scenery and of which it is said that fully four hundred can be counted on a clear day. There is an extensive plateau on the apex sloping to the west, in the centre of which is a large hollow containing a well-constructed tank fed by a perennial spring, known as the Amritasarovara or 'lake of nectar.' Its four sides are built round with stone steps, which diminish as they descend until they meet in a point at the bottom where there is a small shrine. An exotic garden is maintained which is under the Superintendent of Botanical Gardens in Mysore. The Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway runs to Dodballapur, twelve miles from the foot of the hill, and at an early date the Bangalore Chikballapur Light Railway will be practically landing passengers at the stone steps on its eastern face. From Bangalore there is an excellent road for motorists through Yellahanka and the town of Devanhully.

A precipitous cliff of about 1,000 feet at the south-west angle is pointed out as 'Tippoo's Drop' being the famous place over which the prisoners of the 'Tiger of Mysore' were said to have been hurled by the orders of the blood-thirsty enemy of the British a century and a quarter ago. 'Hyder's Drop' again—for this form of cruelty appears to have run through the family—is on a small hill to the north, near the original village of Nundidroog. Beneath this cliff, which is about 700 feet in height, is a cave in which Hyder's European prisoners were confined, a description of which will be found in Meadows Taylor's interesting historical novel 'Tippoo Sultan.'

This formidable stronghold was captured by the British army under Lord Cornwallis in 1791. The siege and assault were conducted under the command of Major Gowdie. Its defence was committed to Latif Ali Beg, an officer who had merited the highest distinction from both Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultan. There was no choice in point of attack, since the fort, owing to the precipitous nature of the hill, was inaccessible except from its western approaches. On this side the fortifications had been strengthened by a double line of ramparts, mounted with cannon and jinjals, which were served with peculiar steadiness and skill; the difficulties of working up the steep and craggy face of the acclivity and dragging up cannon to breaching

distance were great, but after twenty-one strenuous days two breaches were effected, and it was decided to make the assault on the outer line of fortifications and effect a lodgement for further operations against the interior works.

Particular directions were issued to the breaching party to endeavour to enter the fortifications with the fugitives, while the force allotted to forcing the lodgement was to be employed in forming cover; at the same time, Lord Cornwallis moved his army to the immediate vicinity and deputed General Meadows to lead a flank attack.

Shortly before the assault, while all were awaiting the signal in silence, one of the soldiers inadvertently whispered something about a mine—'To be sure there is' said General Meadows, 'but it is a mine of gold'!

The assault was made on a clear moonlight night in October. The defence dispositions were excellent, huge granite masses being rolled down the declivity with disastrous effect, but although the garrison was on the alert the ardour and rapidity of the attack enabled the assailers to surmount every obstacle and a lodgement was effected within a hundred yards of the breach. So closely were the fugitives pressed as to prevent them from barricading the inner gate of the rampart, and, after a sharp conflict the place was carried at the point of the bayonet. A British regiment was quartered at the foot between Nundy and Sultanpet from 1799 to 1808.

The materials employed in the embrasures and ramparts constitute an object lesson in military engineering. The style is precisely the same as that favoured by the architects of Seringapatam; the bricks are small and kiln-burnt to a turn, while masonry experts of the present day are agreed that the most scientifically compounded cement could not produce the same binding effect noticeable in the mortar of this period. Those were not the days of competitive building contracts! Tippoo's method was to commandeer the very best materials at the point of the bayonet and to drive the inhabitants of hundreds of villages to labour for him, their only guerdon being a handful of ragi (the staple cereal still), at the end of the day's work. In this way the terrible Tippoo decimated the country side in his time, and to this day there are touching tales of villages deserted suddenly, with all their portable wealth buried in the earth. Forest surveyors still find traces of abandoned hamlets in the jungle undergrowth of many parts of Mysore, notably in Kadur and Shimoga. Meadows-Taylor, among other writers of India, has woven some pretty romances round the scenes of this famous fortress.

The present dwelling houses at Nundidroog were erected about the year 1848 by Colonel Hill of the old Madras Staff Corps, Sir Mark Cubbon and his secretary, Captain Cunningham. These are situated on the upper plateau, and are of a palatial type; accommodation, and not architectural beauty, having evidently been the main object in view. The bungalow lower

down, between the inner and outer fortification and looking over the pass, was erected by Sir Mark Cubbons's Sheristadar.

In the hottest months of the year, that is during April and May, when the thermometer at times rises in Bangalore to 95° it registers on the Droog between 64° and 65° in the early morning and 77° in the hottest part of the day. The climate is consequently superior to that of the Shevaroy Hills and very nearly equal to that of Coonoor on the Nilgiris. The salubrity of the spot led to its becoming a popular resort in the hot season for European officials from Bangalore, and the large house at the summit was for long the favourite retreat of Sir Mark Cubbon, who was for nearly thirty years Chief Commissioner of Mysore. A bridle-path has been made up the western face from the bottom of the saddle on the south, the ascent by which is four miles long. Cheetahs, panther, wild pig, spur fowl, and peacock are occasionally found in the dense jungle at the foot of the hill. The streams known as the Pennar, the Palar, the Arkavati, the Papaghin and Chitravati have their sources either in this hill or in those in the immediate neighbourhood. A large artillery practice camp is held in the vicinity of Nundidroog every year when the batteries of the Bangalore Artillery Brigade are joined by those from Bellary and St. Thomas' Mount, and for a fortnight the neighbourhood resounds with the constant firing of field guns. Extensive combined manœuvres also take place about the same time, hill warfare being frequently practised among the rugged eminences which surround the Droog. Old fashioned Sedan chairs fixed on poles are still in requisition for use of ladies ascending the hill and can be obtained on application to the Amildar of Chickballapur, the nearest village of importance, who also arranges for the supply of meat, poultry, eggs, and milk. Other commodities, including bread, are brought up by runners from Bangalore and their arrival provides one of the incidents of the day in this quiet and romantic spot.—*Times of India*.

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OCCASIONAL NOTES

CHRISTIANITY IN TIBET

A Seventeenth Century Mission

A meeting of the Punjab Historical Society was held at 'Benmore,' Simla, under the Chairmanship of Sir Edward Maclagan, President of the Society, when Mr. Mackworth Young, I.C.S., Under-Secretary, Punjab, read a paper on 'A Christian King in Tibet.' There was a fair attendance of visitors among whom was the Hon'ble Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab who has become a patron of the

Society. The President announced that membership of the Society has been accepted by Sir Richard Temple, Dewan Tek Chand, C.S., Mr. A. L. Parsons, C.S., and Mr. Scott O'Connor. Sir Edward MacLagan, in introducing the lecturer, said Mr. Mackworth Young was well able to give valuable information about the Christian King in Tibet as he had undertaken a spirited journey in that part of the world.

The lecturer in introducing his subject said that of all the achievements of missionary enterprise in Asia during the sixteenth and seventeenth century the conversion from Buddhism to Christianity of a King in Western Tibet was the most remarkable story of a conversion which took place in the third decade of the seventeenth century and was known from one letter written in 1626 by the leader of the mission to the Provincial at Goa. The mission which went to Tibet originated from the Fathers in Agra and Lahore and its object was in the first place the discovery of ancient Christian Churches and States which had been reported to exist in a vast tract known as Cathay which found inevitable support from the descriptions given by travellers of Buddhist monastic orders. Accordingly Father Antonio de Andrada set out from Agra in March, 1624, at the head of a mission towards Badrinati and passing through Delhi, Srinagar and Ghariwal entered Tibet by the Mana passes. They descended towards the basin of the Sutlej in Western Tibet and found themselves in the Province of Guge, whose Capital lay at Tsaparang. The King received them kindly and gave orders that they should be housed and fed. When Father Antonio left after twenty-five days the King asked him to pay a visit next year. This Father Antonio did and gradually established himself in the Capital. In due time a church was built with enthusiasm, the Lamas looking in disgust at the King. Father Antonio de Andrada left soon afterwards to take up the office of Provincial at Goa and other Fathers subsequently visited Tibet. A fierce conflict ensued between the King and the Lamas who devised all sorts of means to overthrow the influence of the Christians. In the meantime the King and his brother became baptized Christians but soon after as the result of the Lamas' intrigues the King of Ladakh invaded Tsaparang. The King was betrayed by his subjects and forced to capitulate after a few months' siege. He was carried off as a prisoner and was never heard of again. The King of Ladakh was personally not hostile to the Christian Mission which he left alone. But without the loyal patron, the power of the mission was gone and their converts fell away. By 1642 none of them was left.

Mr. Mackworth Young said that since that time till he visited Tsaparang last year no other Christian had been to that place. The lecturer gave a detailed description of the adjoining Provinces of Guge on which Christianity laid such a strong hold and narrated the history of the religion and the lives of the Lamas there. He said that the name of the king who became a Christian was Chodakpo.

At the conclusion of the lecture an interesting discussion took place with which the meeting came to a close.

* * *

M. Foucher, who is to collaborate with Dr. Marshall, of the Indian Archæological Department, on the results of the investigations on the Sanchi tope in Bhopal, is perhaps the best living authority on Buddhist statuary. His well-known work is the *Art Grego-Bouddhique du Gandhara*, a magnificently illustrated book on Buddhist sculpture of what he calls the Gandhara or Kandahar school. M. Foucher shows that the indigenous Buddhist art of India did not attain its zenith till after the accession of artistic help from the Greek converts to Buddhism.

* * *

Messrs. Luzac have issued *Tantra of the Great Liberation (Mahanirvana Tantra)* a translation from the Sanskrit, with a commentary, by Mr. A. Avalon (10s.), the first version ever published in Europe. Dr. Coomaraswamy, continuing his enthusiastic and valuable, if not always discriminating, work for Indian art, has issued the fourth part or *Visvakarma*, a series of examples of Indian architecture, sculpture, painting and handicraft (Luzac, 2s. 6d.).

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BUDDHISTIC RESEARCH

Professor Oldenberg's works in the field of Buddhism are distinguished by the same characteristics and are even more widely known than his works on the Vedas. In Buddhistic research, Germany cannot, indeed, claim the same unique position as it holds in Vedic learning; but it may be said with confidence that none of the living authorities on Buddhism is superior to Dr. Oldenberg. His well-known book on the Life and Teaching of Buddha presents a wonderful combination of historic and critical spirit, of sympathetic insight into past phases of doctrine and belief, and, in addition, of high literary art. This latter gift is one among Professor Oldenberg's many gifts which cannot fail to strike even the less learned outsider, and, thanks to it, an interest in the great evolution and the momentous peripateties of Indian thought has been roused in unexpectedly wide circles.

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A HISTORY OF INDIA

The Cambridge University Press supplies us with details of its *History of India*. The first two volumes will be edited by Professor E. J. Rapson, Professor of Sanskrit at Cambridge since 1906 and a considerable

authority on Indian numismatics. These will, we understand, bring the history down to the earlier Mahomedan invasions. The third and fourth volumes, covering the whole Mogul period, will be edited by Lieutenant-Colonel T. W. Haig, of the Indian Army, now Consul for Kerman and Persian Baluchistan. The last two volumes, dealing with British Rule in India, will be under the care of Sir Theodore Morison. There is every reason to hope that the six volumes will attain the same standard of authority as the *Cambridge Modern History*.

* * *

The Government of India have decided to create half a dozen Archæological Scholarships for training in architecture. These scholarships will be worth Rs 100 each per month tenable for three years.

* * *

The Trustees of the Buddha Relics Fund, Mandalay, have collected so far over Rs 20,000 towards the erection of a pagoda on Mandalay Hill to enshrine the Buddha relics found in Peshawur in 1909.

* * *

The British Museum has just acquired a silver coin of Timarchus, Satrap of Babylon, then part of the Syrian Empire. Timarchus, on the death of the reigning King of Syria, Antiochus IV, in 162 B.C. usurped the throne, refusing to acknowledge Demetrius and his wife Laodice, the legitimate successors. Timarchus reigned only one year, during which time he struck a few coins, which are now very rare. Of these one is a unique gold coin now in the Berlin Museum; another a unique silver coin of one drachm, which is in the British Museum.

* * *

Major Leonard Rogers announces that the arrangements for the Calcutta School of Tropical Medicine are so far advanced that it may confidently be expected that the school will be opened next year with accommodation for a number of research workers in new laboratories, unequalled by any other similar institution in the world. It is already assured that the school will attract both students and investigators from various parts of India as well as from other countries, and with the unlimited clinical material in the Medical College Hospital to which it is attached, it will possess exceptional facilities for carrying on its work. It appears that the London School of Tropical Medicine is making strenuous efforts to obtain donations and promises of annual subscriptions from Railways and other public bodies in India, and Major Rogers, therefore, without seeking to

belittle in any way the work to be done in London, very cogently points out that the Indian School has the first claims to Indian funds.

* * *

Sir Harry Johnston read a paper on racial and tribal migrations in Africa before the Royal Anthropological Institute. Sir Harry Johnston, in his paper, sketched out the probable epochs and course of the early human migrations which peopled Africa, suggesting that the Caucasian or Proto-Caucasian was by no means a recent element in the African population. He alluded to the probably widespread migrations of the first Hamite immigrants from Palestine or Arabia, who might have reached Morocco in the far west and Trans-Zambesian Africa in the south-east. He favoured the German hypothesis that the Libyan or Berber element came from Spain and not from Syria, and that both Hamites and Berbers were preceded in North Africa by a Caucasoid race like the Fulas, speaking a type of Class-and-Concord language, which had since been the parent of many notable groups of African tongues, including the Bantu.

THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

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1. The Society shall be called the MYTHIC SOCIETY.
 2. The Society was formed with the object of encouraging the study of the Sciences of Ethnology, History and Religions, and stimulating research in these and allied subjects.
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Any four of the above members to form a quorum.
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 - (a) For members resident in Bangalore, rupees five per annum.
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 7. There will be nine Ordinary Meetings in each Session, at which lectures will be delivered; due notice being given by the Secretaries.
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 9. Members may obtain, on application to the Secretaries, invitation cards for the admission of their friends to the lectures.
 10. The Annual General Meetings will be held in July.
 11. Framing and alteration of Rules rest entirely with the Committee.

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[No. 2

FUNERAL CEREMONIES

By B. NARAYAN AIYANGAR

II

I SAID before that there were certain ceremonies to be performed on the cremation day after retiring from the cremation ground, and that there were daily ceremonies to be performed on the succeeding ten days. During those days the sons and their *daṣarātra-jñātins* remain in pollution. It goes away by bathing on the eleventh day, and there are ceremonies to be performed on that day and on the twelfth day. All these will now be described, marked alphabetically and the word *preta* used as the designation of the departed person. The word *preta* has a double meaning: (1) departed from this world and (2) ghost. It is the dictum of the *śāstrakāras* or text-writers that the deceased person, other than an ascetic, remains as a *preta*, ghost, for one year from the time of death, or at least till the *Sapindikarana śrāddha* is performed on the twelfth day; and so till that time the epithet *preta* in the sense of ghost is applied to him in all the ceremonies.

A. On the first day, having retired from the cremation ground and bathed, all the sons get themselves shaved beginning from the youngest and bathe again. Then the first son performs the *śrāddha* called *Nagna-prachchādana*, either at the place of bathing or at the door-way to his house. This *śrāddha* like all other *śrāddhas* to be performed during the ten days,

is performed in the form of *Ama-śrāddha*, by presenting uncooked provisions to Brahmans, as they may not eat cooked food from the hands of the sons till their pollution has gone. So in the *Nagna-prachchādana śrāddha* as much rice, etc., as one man can consume in ten days (or as much as a poor family can spare) is covered over by a new cloth and presented to a Brahman with *dakṣhiṇā*, largess. The cloth thus given is supposed to cover the nudity of the *preta* caused by the cremation. Then after looking at a cow and other auspicious things the sons enter the house, which by that time will have been swept and cleaned with water mixed with cowdung. A lamp will have been lit up in the house. The spot where the death took place is strewn over with a little rice and *dūrva* grass. Some families keep on that spot water in a vessel and a lamp burning continuously for ten days.

B. In a convenient spot near a river or tank or pond, a small stone tied with the sacred grass is placed in a pit and the *preta* is invited to be present in the stone for ten days. The sons commencing from the youngest bathe and offer *Vāsodaka* and *Tilodaka* to allay (as Venkatanātha says), the hunger and thirst of the *preta*. A piece of new cloth soaked in water and wrung over the stone three times by each son is called the offering of *Vāsodaka*. Its number for the ten days will be thirty. The offering of *Tilodaka* by each son consists in pouring on the stone water mixed with tila seed from the palm of the hand three times on the first day. On the succeeding days addition is made to this number gradually thus :

First day, 3; second day, $3 + 1 = 4$; third day, $3 + 2 = 5$; fourth day, $3 + 3 = 6$; fifth day, $3 + 4 = 7$; sixth day, $3 + 5 = 8$; seventh day, $3 + 6 = 9$; eighth day, $3 + 7 = 10$; ninth day, $3 + 8 = 11$; and tenth day, $3 + 9 = 12$; total for the ten days 75. This manner of gradually adding to the number three is called *Ekottaravṛiddhi*.

C. The offering to the *preta* in the stone is of cooked rice ball called *pinḍa* and then of a little cooked rice called *bali*, preceded and followed by the pouring of tila-mixed water. The *pinḍa* and *bali* thus offered are to be thrown into water or buried, while the rice remaining in the vessel after the above offering is placed out to be eaten by the crows. The stone should be carefully preserved in the pit by a slab placed over it every day after this *pinḍa* ceremony.

Many families maintain another stone in some open part of their house and offer *pinḍa* to it every day.

D. Every day during the ten days *śrāddha* to the *preta* is performed in the *Ekottara-vṛiddhi* manner. The number of this *śrāddha* also will amount to seventy-five.

E. In addition to the above *śrāddha* another *śrāddha* called *Nava-śrāddha* is performed on the first, third, fifth, seventh, ninth and eleventh days; so that the number of this *śrāddha* amounts to six. *Nava* has two meanings, new and nine. Why this *śrāddha* came to be designated *nava*

is not known. The Rig-Vedins perform five *śrāddhas* of this kind, the last on the ninth day.

It may be mentioned here that the ceremonies *A* to *E* have no Vedic Mantras, and that in support of only one of them does Venkatanātha quote Āpastamba's Sūtra. That ceremony is *B*, the offering of Vāsodaka and Tilodaka. The Sūtra does not require the departed soul to be located in the stone, nor does it say that the object of the offering is to allay hunger and thirst. It requires only the name and *gotra* of the departed to be mentioned and the offering made to him.

F. On the tenth day after the ceremonies *B*, *C* and *D* that are to be performed on that day, the ceremony called *Prabhūta-bali* is performed by the heaping up of a large quantity of cooked rice, etc., for the *preta* in the stone. Venkatanātha quotes certain verses attributed to Rṣyaṣ-ṛinga to say that by the offering of the daily *piṇḍas* the body of the *preta* will grow gradually thus: from the *piṇḍa* of the first day, the head; second day, eyes, ears and nose; third day, shoulder, chest and neck; fourth day, navel, buttocks and the genital organ; fifth day, the thighs; sixth day, the *madhya* (the middle; what this means I do not know), seventh day, *śirā*, tubular vessels or veins, eighth day, the hairs; ninth day, *virya-sampatti*, potentiality of the sex (2), and tenth day satiation of hunger. *Prabhūta* means abundant and so the *Prabhūta-bali* of the tenth day is to satisfy the hunger of the fully-developed *preta*. The sorrow-stricken, weeping widow of the deceased is brought and made to prostrate herself before the heap of food and the *preta* in the stone; she removes all her ornaments and then retires to get her head shaved. In the case of a *sumangalī* woman predeceasing her husband, the *Prabhūta* food is decorated with saffron and flowers. This food also is thrown into water.

On this tenth day, in addition to all the sons, all their Daśarātra-jñātins that happen to be present in the same village, gather together at the stone and offer Vāsodaka and Tilodaka (ceremony *B*). If it is not convenient for them to join the sons for this ceremony, they perform it in their own places whether in the same village or elsewhere.

In the above manner, after the ceremonies *B*, *C* and *D* of the tenth day together with the *Prabhūta-bali* *F* have been performed, the *preta* is asked to get up from the stone. Taking the stone out from the pit and putting a little paddy into it and filling it up with mud, the performer, that is the first son, stands with his back towards the water and throws the stone from over his head backwards into the water.

Then all the sons bathe and get shaved and bathe again. All the Daśarātra-jñātins also must get shaved on this day. If it happens to be a Friday they will have had their shave on the previous day.

G. After the shave and the bathing two kinds of *homa* in the fire, called *śānti-homa*, and *ānanda-homa*, are performed on this tenth day, the sacred

thread being worn in the *upavīti* form. Āpastamba mentions these *homas* and there are Vedic mantras for them in chapters ten and eleven of the same *Prapāṭhaka* iv of the Āraṇyaka whose previous chapters deal with cremation and the burial of the bones, as already described. The particulars of these *homa* ceremonies are these:—

(1) Kindling the fire for the *śānti-homa* first, all the sons, and also the Daśarātra-jñātins that may be present, are required to wear round their necks garlands made of *vetasa* or (in its absence) of *darbha* grass, and sit upon the hide of a red-coloured bull, spread on the ground with its head side to the east, facing the fire. But as the use of bull's hide is not in vogue, a deer's skin or the *darbha* grass may be used. The sitting begins from the oldest person. The mantras used in sitting upon the skin are iv. 10. 1 and 2 (same as *Rig-veda* x. 18. 6 and 5). They contain prayer for long life for them all in regular succession just as one day follows another and one season another season. The idea suggested seems to be that the younger may not die before the elder, but that all may live long to a ripe old age and quit this world in regular order. Then the performer (the first son) makes two ghee offerings to Agni in a certain manner, repeating the next two mantras (viz. iv. 10. 3 and 4), and then ten more ghee offerings in another manner, repeating the first ten mantras of the next chapter (viz. iv. 11. 1-10; the first eight of these being the same as *Rig-veda* i. 97. 1-8). These are short hymns addressed to Agni with one and the same refrain at the end of each, asking Agni to remove all sins and misfortunes away from them and bestow good fortune.

(2) Then they touch the back of a cart bullock of red colour which is made to stand facing the east on the northern side of the fire, and they proceed a little distance forward to the east with the bullock. The mantras used for touching the bullock are iv. 10. 5 and 6 the (last being the same as *Rig-veda* x. 18. 3). In them the bullock is asked to convey them well like the god Indra himself, so that they may pass their lifetime dancing and laughing (i.e. in a joyful manner without getting into any further grief). In the procession towards the east are repeated two mantras (iv. 10. 7 and 8; the same as *Rig-veda* x. 18. 2 and 4), one for brushing away the foot-prints of the bullock with a *vetasa* twig and another plant called Avakā (a kind of water plant), and the other at the end of the procession for placing a stone to the south of the processionists as a *paridhi* or barrier between them and the south (which is the direction of Death). The first purports to say: 'We, wearing long life, go on effacing the *padam* or footing of Mrityu, Death.' The second purports to say: 'We place this *paridhi* barrier, for the sake of the living (i.e. the survivors); we barricade Death by this mountain.' So the stone, however small, represents the mountain, while the effacing of the foot-prints of the bullock seems to indicate this: although the cart bullock was likened to Indra himself conveying the

survivors well on their life-journey, still the very process of the journey leaves ruts behind indicating the gradual wearing away of life and ends in death, and so the survivors who have got to proceed on the same journey repair the road by removing the ruts and go on doggedly, barricading untimely death.

(3) The *sumangali* females of the family are also required to take part in the procession. At the end of it they slightly besmear their faces with the residue of the *homa* ghee (which has been tilted into a leaf from the *darvī* or spoon leaf as each of the ten offerings has been made) and also apply collyrium to their eyes. The mantras for these acts are two (vi. 10. 9 and 10). The first (which is the same as *Rig-veda* x. 18. 7) wishes the women applying the ghee to live long without widowhood, never having any occasion to shed tears, and tells them to go home first. The second describes the collyrium as the product of a three-peaked (*trikakud*) mountain in the Himalayas and says: 'By this immortal root (*māla*) may we put down our enemies.' This indicates the collyrium mentioned in the mantra to be the product of some root possessing a charm. The male members also apply the collyrium.¹

(4) Then an *oshadhi-stamba* or bunch is to be planted (in practice a little paddy is sown and watered), and addressed with the Mantra iv. 10. 11, thus: 'Oshadhi! Just as you sprout forth from the ground, even so may these (survivors of the deceased) sprout forth with Kirti, Yaśas and brahmanvarchas (i.e. fame, dignity and splendour of Vedic knowledge).' This done the women go home first, with a lamp lighted from the *homa* fire. The lamp must be well protected from wind.

(5) Then comes the *ānanda-homa*. According to Āpastamba quoted by Venkatanātha this *homa* is to be performed in the north-eastern part of the house itself, after the male members go there; but following other authorities the custom among us is to perform it near the *śānti-homa* fire. In the *ānanda-homa* two ghee oblations are made to Agni with Mantras 11 and 12 of iv. 10. Their purport is this:

For *Ānanda* and *Pramoda*, i.e. for joy and happiness, have we come back to our home.

There will never die man, (his) kine, house and (other) cattle where is performed this rite, (which is) the auspicious paridhi or barrier for the sake of life (i.e. the barrier protecting life from death).

(6) Then all the male members go home accompanied by the priest and other Brahmans, chanting selections from the Vedas. By that time the women will have placed a looking-glass with lighted lamps by it and

¹ It is prepared by mixing the ghee to a little of the fine ashes of the *homa* fire.

a green cloth hung behind; so that the male members entering the house see those things first.

(7) On this day, according to the Sūtra, goat's flesh and barley food should be prepared in the house and partaken of by all the sons and their jñātins, as indeed the last text, viz. 12 of chapter 10 of the Āranyaka indicates; but as the custom of flesh-eating is not in vogue, Venkatanātha would have the first portion of the text about the goat omitted and only the second portion about barley repeated. In this part of the country where barley cannot be had rice and wheat take its place.

It must be mentioned here that everything does not end with the ceremonies of the tenth day as above described. There are very important ceremonies to be performed on the eleventh and twelfth days. They are not prescribed by Āpastamba but borrowed from Bodhayana and others.

The ceremonies of the eleventh day are four: (a) *Vṛishotsarjana*, (b) the *Navasrāddha* E of this day, (c) *Homa* offerings to the god Yama, and (d) *Srāddha* by feeding a single Brahman on behalf of the *preta*. The first (a) consists in branding a young bull and letting it loose. It must be allowed to roam about and graze anywhere freely and nobody should take any work from it. As such bulls become a nuisance to cultivators and get impounded or are liable to be caught hold of by butchers and slaughtered, many prefer to present to a Brahman the value of a young bull or as much money as one can afford to give, in lieu of letting loose the bull; and provisions are presented to eleven Brahmans.

The *homa* ceremony (c) consists in offering into the fire thirty-two morsels of cooked rice mixed with milk, etc., for the god Yama, repeating each time a mantra (iv. 5. 3; the same as *Rig-veda* x. 14. 13), which is one of the Yama-yajña mantras; and these thirty-two rice oblations are followed by thirty-two ghee oblations for the same god. The mantra prays: 'May this sacrifice, carried by Agni, go to Yama.' At the end of this *homa*, a *pinda* made from the same cooked rice and intended for the *preta*, is placed on the ground on *darbha* grass pointing to the south, and then thrown into water.

Then, after a bath, the *srāddha* (d) is performed. In it only one oblation of food is offered into the fire with these words: 'This is for the *preta* of such and such name and *gotra* and for Yama.' After feeding the one Brahman on behalf of the *preta*, a *pinda* is offered, which together with the remnant of food in the vessels in which the remaining food for the Brahman was cooked is to be thrown into water or buried. The performer should bathe and then take his food which is prepared quite separately from the food cooked for the single Brahman.

Before mentioning the ceremonies of the twelfth day it must be stated that Venkatanātha and other authorities quote several Smṛiti verses to say that before joining the fathers the soul of the deceased person other

than an ascetic remains as a *preta* or ghost for one year from the day of death, that therefore twelve *Ekoddishṭa* monthly *śrāddhas* and four more at certain intervals of some of the twelve months, total sixteen *śrāddhas*, are to be performed to satisfy the ghost, and that at the completion of the year the grand *śrāddha* called *Sapindākarana* is to be performed. *Ekoddishṭa śrāddha* means the *śrāddha* to the *preta* alone, not conjointly with his ancestors. By means of the grand *śrāddha*, which is also called *preta-mokshaṇa*, the soul gets freed from the state of ghost and obtains union with the fathers who, according to the text of Yājñavalkya referred to in II of the first paper, are the three classes of the Devas called Vasus, Rudras and Ādityas. But although the proper time for performing the grand *śrāddha* is at the end of the year, still without performing it the sons would not be in a fit state to perform certain other ceremonies which should not be put off. Therefore the practice is this: The sixteen *Ekoddishṭa śrāddhas* of the future time should be drawn to the present time and performed, and immediately afterwards the grand *śrāddha* should be performed. Accordingly the *śrāddha* performed on the eleventh day by feeding the single Brahman as stated in the previous paragraph is called the *Ekoddishṭa śrāddha* for the first month. On the twelfth day the remaining fifteen *Ekoddishṭa śrāddhas* are lumped together and performed by offering one oblation consisting of fifteen pinches of food into the fire for the *preta* and Yama and by feeding fifteen Brahmins and offering fifteen *pinda*s, which and the remnant of food cooked for the fifteen Brahmins are thrown into water or buried. If one cannot afford to feed fifteen Brahmins one may perform these fifteen *śrāddhas* as *Āma-śrāddhas* by presenting provisions to fifteen Brahmins.

Then having taken his bath the performer commences the *Sapindākarana* on the same twelfth day. There is no time now to describe this elaborate *śrāddha* in detail. Its main feature is this: In it the three male and three female ancestors whom the deceased father had worshipped in his lifetime (by means of the *śrāddha* as described in the first paper) are worshipped by his son in the same manner and with the same mantras, but he combines that *śrāddha* with a *śrāddha* to his *preta* father. In the *homa* portion of this combined *śrāddha*, after offering oblations to the three ancestors of the *preta*, one oblation is offered to the *preta* father and Yama, from food cooked separately for feeding the Brahman representing the *preta* only. Then in the feeding portion of this *śrāddha* the Brahmins representing respectively the Visvedevas, the ancestors and Vishnu sit to eat, facing the directions specified in the first paper, while the Brahman representing the *preta* sits facing the west. Then in the *pinda* portion of this *śrāddha*, after placing down the six *pinda*s, three on one line for the male ancestors and three on another line for the females, one oblong *pinda* (about a foot long and three inches thick) is placed down for the *preta* father on another

line of *darbha* grass by the side of the first line, and that *pinḍa* is divided into three parts and united to the three *pinḍas* of the male ancestors.¹ It is this union of the *preta's pinḍa* with the *pinḍas* of his ancestors that has given the name of *Sapinḍākarana* to this *śrāddha*.

In *śrāddhas* performed thereafter by the deceased's son the deceased's great-grandfather will not be called in, and so by way of finally sending him away with *pātheya* or provisions for his journey, a gift of *tāmbūla* (*pānsupāri*) with some provisions, etc., is made to a Brahman on his account.

It may be mentioned here that before uniting the *preta's pinḍas* with the *pinḍas* of the ancestors as above described, a cow should be presented to a Brahman. This gift is called *Vaitaraṇī-godāna*. It is said that there is a terrible river called *Vaitaraṇī* at the entrance to the god Yama's town, and that unless this gift is made the departed soul will not be able to cross that river.

All the *pinḍas* and the *anna-śeṣa* or remnant of the food cooked for the Brahman who ate on behalf of the *preta* are thrown into water or buried.

The performer then bathes and feeds another Brahman (representing the deceased father, grandfather and great-grandfather, as the father's great-grandfather has been sent away), in what is called the *Sodakumbha-śrāddha*, in which a vessel containing drinking water is specially presented. Then the performer and his relations take their dinner in which the *anna-śeṣa* of the food prepared for the Brahmans that represented the ancestors of the *preta* in the grand *śrāddha* and also of the food prepared for the *Sodakumbha* Brahman is eaten. By that time evening will have set in as the many rituals of the twelfth day require so much time to go through one by one.

Quoting *Vijñāneśvara's* commentary of *Yājñavalkya* i. 251-3, *Venkaṭa-nātha* says that notwithstanding the performance of the grand *śrāddha* on the twelfth day the ghost state continues till the end of the year.² So every day till the end of the year the *Sodakumbha-śrāddha* is to be performed. Not only this, but the fifteen *śrāddhas* also are to be performed on their proper days, not according to the *Ekoddishṭa* manner, but according to the full *śrāddha* manner by worshipping father, grandfather and great-grandfather. As it is not convenient for many to perform all these *śrāddhas* in the regular manner, provision is made for lumping them up together and performing them at convenient times within the year, either by feeding the Brahmans or in the form of *Ama-śrāddha*.

The theory of the soul remaining in the ghost state either till the grand

¹ In the case of this *śrāddha* to one's deceased mother her *pinḍa* is united to the three *pinḍas* of the females.

² Vide pp. 203, 204, 233 and 234 of his work. See also p. 217 of the work called *Smṛiti-mukhā-phala* by *Vaidyanātha* who is the authority for the Tamil *Smārta Brahmans*.

śrāddha is performed on the twelfth day or till the end of the year seems to be opposed to the spirit of the Vedic mantras about the funerals. The god Pūshan himself leads the way to the gods and fathers, and the departed joins them in a spiritual form not leaving a limb behind. In spite of this it is said that the ghost's body grows by the *pinḍas* of the ten days, and that its hunger and thirst have to be appeased.

This contrast is intensified by certain special ceremonies performed by the Śrīvaiṣṇava Brahmins. On the first day before the ghee oblation to Yama is made the caste mark to be applied to the face of the corpse is consecrated by the Śrīvaiṣṇava Brahmins by the repetition of certain mantras and also certain Tamil hymns composed by the Ālvār saints. The firm belief of the Śrīvaiṣṇavas is that a Prapanna Vaiṣṇava whether he is a bachelor or householder or ascetic, who has taken refuge in Viṣṇu is sure of going to Viṣṇu's world Vaikunṭha. On the day following, the *Sapīṇḍīkaraṇa* day, the sons go to the temple and bring home a pot of water in procession in which the Brahmins chant the Vedas as well as the Tamil hymns of the Ālvārs holding sugarcanes in their hands, and at the end of a special worship of Viṣṇu performed in the house memorial verses, composed by pandits, are read. The verses mention the year, month and day of the death and say that the deceased Śrīvaiṣṇava has gone to Vaikunṭha the very moment he breathed his last here.

It was shown in the first paper that annual *śrāddha* is performed to deceased ascetics also by their sons. There are Smṛiti texts saying that ascetics are not liable to get into ghosthood (*pretatva*); that therefore the *Sapīṇḍīkaraṇa-śrāddha*, whose object is to remove ghosthood, should not be performed for them; and that *śrāddha* in the usual manner should be performed for them on the eleventh or twelfth day and *Nārāyaṇa-bali* on the next day.

A Śrīvaiṣṇava pandit of the Vāḍakalai branch, Mantrālayam Vedānta-chārya by name, who lived in Conjeeveram and is said to have died in the year Ānanda now fifty-eight years ago, wrote, among works on other subjects, a work condemning the performance of the *Sapīṇḍīkaraṇa śrāddha* to any Śrīvaiṣṇava Brahmin, on the ground that it is not proper to suppose that one who took refuge in Viṣṇu by the Vaiṣṇava rite of branding and *śaranāgati* will get into ghosthood, and that it is sinful to set up a ghost in his name and worship it. This zealous Vaiṣṇava converted a few families to his beliefs. In their funeral rites they do not use the word *preta*. They cremate according to the Vedic mantras; but during the ten days they offer only three Tilodakas each day to the departed and nothing else. On the tenth day they perform the *śānti-homa* and *ānanda-homa*. On the eleventh day they offer thirty-two oblations not to Yama but to Viṣṇu by repeating the hymns of the Puruṣa-sūkta. On the twelfth day they simply perform *śrāddha* just as the ascetic's son does. Thus they avoid the

pindās, etc., of the ten days, the sixteen *Ekoddishṭa-śrāddha* and the *Sapindākarana*. On the thirteenth day they perform *Nārāyaṇa-bali* in the manner prescribed in the Smṛiti of Vṛiddha-Hārīta for Vaiṣṇava householders also. It is not necessary here to quote the authorities relied on in support of the innovation, which is strongly opposed by the observers of the old custom, but be it said to their credit, they have not gone to the length of outcasting the followers of the new custom.

LIFE IN ANCIENT INDIA IN THE AGE OF THE MANTRAS¹

(An extract from the '*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*,' by
J. Kennedy.)

THIS is an excellent little work; I have read it with pleasure and surprise; pleasure, because it is so good; surprise, to find an Indian gentleman so thoroughly a master of the critical method, and so well acquainted with the works of modern anthropologists. The author, who is Principal of a college at Vizagapatam, founded by the munificence of Mrs. A. V. Narasingha Rau, starts with the assumption that the sociological history of India can be best treated by Indian students trained in the critical methods of the west, since they are in closer touch with the daily life of the people than Europeans are. And the period which he has chosen is social life in the Vedic age, or, as he prefers to call it, the age of the mantras. He presents us with a picture, fully authenticated by references, of the life of a primitive people. The Aryas, as they called themselves, dwelt between the Sarasvati and the Upper Ganges. They were not ignorant of agriculture, but their wealth consisted in their flocks and herds. Pasture lands and water, women and kine, were the occasion of their wars. The rich dwelt in wooden houses, the poor in circular wattled huts daubed with mud, and the villages were defended by stockades. These Aryas had their Brahmans and priests, their exorcists, sorcerers, medicine men, their artisans and traders. The king was consecrated and all-powerful, he levied heavy contributions, and under him were various subordinate chiefs, including the village head-man. Hunting, chariot racing, and gambling were the diversions of the nobles. Marriage alliances were formed by negotiation, and some of the old Vedic marriage rites survive to the present day; but the Aryas did not hesitate to make captured women their concubines or slaves; and the widow of the elder often passed to the younger brother. So far we have analogous practices and an analogous mode of life among primitive folk all the world over, as well as in modern India. Three things, however, sharply distinguished these Aryas from the neighbouring Dasyus; they were notable for the cult

¹ By P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, M.A., pp. x, 140, Madras, 1912.

of Agni, the constitution of the family, and the immense development of the sacrificial system. The first and last have always attracted attention, and are fully dealt with by our author. But although our author notes the peculiar constitution of the Arya family system, he merely notes it with a passing remark, nor has it usually received the consideration it deserves. For it is not only entirely unlike the Dravidian and other aboriginal conceptions of the family, it is the chief criterion at the present day of the stage of Hinduism any section of the community has reached ; while in itself it has a wider interest as a special variety of the patriarchal system which received its most characteristic expression among the Romans. It is that bequest of the ancient Aryas to India which time has least modified.

So much for the general contents of the book. It will be seen that the author is entirely free from any illusions about a golden age. He also protests against the pessimism of the later philosophers. He shows by ample quotations that the Rishis freely indulged in sensual pleasures, even of a doubtful character, and enjoyed life to the full. But the idea which underlies the work, and gives it its originality, is the importance attached by the author to the aboriginal (which he practically assumes to be the Dravidian) elements. The Dasyus, he says, had a civilization not inferior to the Aryan ; they were equally rich in horses and cattle ; they had cities, castles, chariots, arms ; but they were enemies of Agni. 'According to Indian tradition Dasyu and Arya have been understood respectively as enemies and advocates of the fire-cult. The distinction indicated by Arya and Dasyu was purely a difference of cult, and not of race or culture.' The influence of the Dravidian element is sensibly reflected in the grammar as well as in the vocabulary of the language (p. 6). On the other hand, he emphasizes and enlarges the gulf between the Aryas on the Sarasvati and the long-headed fair-skinned races of Europe. He allows only Indra, Agni, and Dyaus to be of non-Indian origin ; the other gods and goddesses were all evolved in India ; while not only Siva and Krishna, but also Varuna, Rudra, Twashti (a minor god after all), and Aditi were originally Dravidian divinities (p. 123). Vishnu, Siva, and their mother Aditi 'were popular gods even before the Vedas were composed' (p. 126). He elsewhere extols the antiquity and the greatness of the Dravidian civilization. Now, although I am far from agreeing with the author in some of his details, I consider his view true in the main for the latest stage of Aryo-Vedic culture. The Aryas who lived between the Sarasvati and the Ganges were the creators of all that has ever since been accounted distinctive of India. And they were able to do this work, because they were a very mixed race, mixed not only in blood but in fundamental beliefs and practices. The whole history of India has ever since consisted in the gradual and progressive blending of the dissimilar elements, the Aryan genius contributing the guiding spirit and the form of this mixed civilization, while the aboriginal element has contributed its contents.

Whether the aboriginal folk of Northern India were ever Dravidians is, of course, a much disputed question. But the author is right in maintaining that the Dravidians had a great and distinctive civilization of their own, in no material respect inferior to the Aryan, and in touch with the civilization of Babylonia at an early date, probably as early as the eighth century B.C.¹ In the early centuries of the Christian era the Dravidians were the chief traders with Roman Egypt, and the sea trade with the west has always been in their hands. For more than a millennium they have produced the great majority of notable Indian thinkers, reformers, and poets. Less exposed than the peoples of the north to war and foreign invasion, they have had greater opportunities of developing their own special genius.

So far I am in general agreement with the author. But his picture can be accepted only if we refer it to the latest stage of Vedic culture, the stage when it had already developed the germs of its future history. The author admits that some Vedic hymns and mantras are older than others, but he argues that the bulk of them must belong to one and the same period, which he hypothetically puts at 1200 B.C. He, therefore, takes his materials indiscriminately from the Atharva as much as from the Rik. This wealth of material gives the picture a fulness it could not otherwise have, but it robs it of all historical perspective; there is no attempt to trace the process by which the intrusive Aryas who crossed the Hindu Kush, driving out the earlier settlers before them, became the comparatively unwarlike Aryas whose settlements extended along the foot of the Himalayas. This transition stage occupied many centuries—centuries during which Northern India was, if not in the stone, at least in the copper, age. The art of smelting iron spread very slowly eastwards from Mesopotamia and the Caucasus; it came to India only in the latest Vedic period. The Vedic hymns, whatever the date of their composition, contain survivals of this earlier period. How far there may be materials for a picture of the transition, I am not competent to say. The author does not make the attempt, and this defect I take to be the chief blot upon the work.

Both at the commencement and in the course of his work—the author has touched on some of the more general problems of anthropology. He treats them judiciously, and his knowledge is fairly up to date. With regard to some of them, e. g. with regard to the Aryan kings of Mitani, I have given my own version elsewhere. But with regard to such questions which are still *sub lite* general agreement cannot be expected; and I hail with pleasure the contributions of a competent Indian anthropologist to questions so large and so important in the eyes of students of primitive man.

¹ The author would carry it back to immemorial antiquity; but see my paper on the 'Early Commerce of Babylon with India,' *JRAS*, 1898, pp. 241ff. Meyer and Speck do not allow that any maritime commerce existed before the time of Darius Hystaspes. This, of course, has nothing to do with the question of a prehistoric migration or other racial connexion. *JRAS*, 1918.

BACTRIA : THE HISTORY OF A FORGOTTEN EMPIRE¹

(Extracted from the 'Indian Review.')

BACTRIA, the modern province of Balk in Afghanistan, embraced according to the classical writers, the vast tract of country which lies between the Hindu-Kush and the Oxus. Situated as Bactria is on the high road to Europe and Eastern Asia on the one hand, and China and India on the other, it has all along been a place of commercial and strategical importance. Its early association with Zarathushtra or Zoroaster, the ancient shrine of Anahid, the Scythian goddess in it and the existence of a strong fortress, combined to make the place one of very considerable importance in early times. Occupying a position of great strategical importance on the highway to India of the Persian, Greek or the Central Asian tribes, the history of this province of Afghanistan is of the greatest importance to the student of Indian history, the more so at a time when the history of the Kushans is receiving more than ordinary attention at the hands of Orientalists. Professor Rawlinson deals with the history of Bactria in four periods. The first may be called the Persian, extending from very early times to the overthrow of the Persian Empire, including an account of Zarathushtra and his doings. The second is the Macedonian period beginning with the overthrow of the Persian Empire by Alexander the Great. The third begins with the revolt of Diodotus in 250 B.C. when Bactria assumes the rôle of an independent Greek kingdom extending its sway not only over Sogdiana to the north, but over a great portion of Afghanistan and the Punjab. The last period begins with the evacuation of the country north of the Hindu-Kush by the Greeks when they made Sagala (Sialkot) their capital, and ends with their overthrow by the Kushan monarchs.

In these four sections the subject is treated with a fulness that is a guarantee of thorough treatment of the problems arising out of the discussion, the chronological results of which are summarized in Appendix A. Throughout the book there is evidence of impartial treatment and a tendency towards

¹ By H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., I.E.S. (Probsthain & Co., London, 7/6 net).

caution in regard to the results of which one cannot be too sure with the scanty information at our disposal. The fuller treatment of Menander deserves study and the account of the tribal movements which culminated in the occupation of the Indian frontiers by the Sakas and the Kushanas is well worth careful study by those interested in unravelling the history of Kanishka, of whom learned opinion is at considerable variance in respect of dates.

In a note at bottom of page 121 the Sanskrit word Madakin of the Malavikāgnimitra should be Mandakini. That seems to be the word in the text. One special feature of the work is that the texts of classical authorities referring to Bactria are given in an appendix for verification and reference. This is followed by three plates of coins, one plan of the Pillar at Besnagar and two maps, which enhance the value of the book to the student.

THE MAHAVAMSA¹

THIS work bearing on the history of Ceylon has been published already in two translations, the first by Upham and the next by Turnour revised by Wijesimha. It was felt none the less that a revision of the translation itself and a revised edition of the work was called for. The translation by Professor Geiger is the result of this desire on the part of the Government of Ceylon. Professor Geiger, who had just completed a new edition of the text, was entrusted with the work of a revised translation which was made in German in the first instance. This German version is put into English under the supervision of the translator himself by Mrs. Bode of University College, London.

Upham's translation, however valuable in itself, has become quite out of date. Turnour's version, on the other hand, called for a revision and notwithstanding Wijesimha's revision of the part translated by Turnour, a new version was called for in 1908. This new translation brings the work up to the reign of king Mahasena who came to the throne according to the work in A. D. 1325. In other words this breaks off in the middle of Chapter XXXVII.

In an elaborate and learned introduction Professor Geiger deals with the various problems connected with the work and throws fresh light upon several of them. On a careful examination of the evidence Professor Geiger is inclined to credit the author of the Chronicle with at least a wish to write the truth. He next discusses the various points at which the Chronicle finds support in external testimony. He is not willing to accord his sanction to the argument which casts doubt upon the conversion of Ceylon as the fact does not find mention in the Edicts of Asoka. In regard to the name Sangamitta looking suspicious, the Professor considers it quite natural. Just so, as the names of a number of the Imperial Consorts of the Cholas of a latter age would warrant, not to mention the names of sanctified personages Buddhist or Jain or Hindu.

The next important matter discussed in the introduction is the starting point of the Ceylon Era. He finds that there has been an Era beginning with 483 B. C. The error in regard to the date 543 B. C. he ascribes to the

¹ Translation by Professor Geiger, assisted by Mrs. Bode, published for the Pali Text Society by the Oxford University Press.

period of the reign of Mahinda and the interregnum that followed. He would, therefore, strike the surplus of sixty-two years there, that is, in the eleventh century A. D. If this correction should stand the test of further investigation, as there is every likelihood it will, it will have solved another problem of Indian chronology.

One other point in the introduction calls for remark. Professor Geiger says, on page xlv, that the insertion of the name Darśaka between Ajātaśatru and Udayin is an error. 'The Pali Canon indubitably asserts, that Udāyibadda was the son of Ajātaśatru and probably also his successor. Otherwise the reign of the father and son would extend over eighty-three years.' This ruler Darśaka, however, is mentioned as the brother of Padmāvati and a contemporary of Prodyōta of Malva and Vatsaraja, the hero of the recently published drama of Svapnavasādatta. It may just possibly be that he was another son of Ajātaśatru or that Udayin was the son of Darśaka. In any case the matter requires more investigation.

Apart from the learned, elaborate and valuable introduction, the translation itself strikes one as quite scholarly. The notes and references that accompany the translation add immensely to the value of the work. Even Homer nods, and it is with some surprise that in a note on page 62 of the translation, one comes upon, the identification of the Pali Madda with Madras, of course, through Sanskrit Madra. This has to be looked for somewhere near Sagala or Sialkot in the Punjab. The possibility of this error in such a carefully written book only emphasizes the fact that no care is ever too much in works of the kind.

This notwithstanding we have nothing but commendation for the work which is one that all students of Indian history, literature or religion should welcome.

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR.

ESSAI SUR GUNĀDHYA ET LA BRĤATKATHĀ

BY PROFESSOR FELIX LACÔTE

(Translated by the Rev. A. M. Tabard, M.A., M.R.A.S.)

PART I

GUNĀDHYA AND THE PAIṢAÇI

CHAPTER I

THE REALITY OF GUNĀDHYA

I

Proofs of the existence of Gunādhya

THE *Brhatkathā* has always been famous in India, but that fame has remained strictly Indian. As Mr. S. d'Oldenbourg has shrewdly remarked¹ 'At a time when the stories of the *Pañcatantra* had gone around Asia and Europe, thanks to the admirers, whom the moral, simple and truly human, which is found there, had secured for them in every period and in every country, the *Brhatkathā*, more fanciful and more local, had not been able to emerge from the limited boundaries of the country of its birth. But there it has held one of the foremost places.' The diffusion of the legend of Gunādhya, the numerous borrowings which both theatre and romance seem to have made from his work, the allusions to the adventures of its heroes which are found in all sorts of books, of Brahmanic as well as of Buddhist inspiration, or yet in several technical treatises, afford us an incontrovertible proof of the fact. Gunādhya has even been invested with a peculiar honour: he shares with Vālmiki and the mythical Vyāsa the glory of being placed, in a way, above literary history. His book is not given as of a purely human origin; though in an inferior degree, it is also inspired. We are indebted for

¹ *Matériaux pour servir aux recherches sur la Brhatkathā* in Russian [Zapiski, III. i. (1888), p. 44]. This 'memoir' contains a bibliography which comes as far down as 1888.

it, if not to a revelation, at least to an indiscretion which surprised a conversation between Siva and Pārvati. Guṇādhya, having become a legendary hero, is the third of the Epic triad, 'We salute, says Govardhana, the authors of the *Ramayana*, of the *Mahabharata* and of the *Bṛhatkathā*,'¹ and he compares the eloquence of these poets to one river with three branches. Elsewhere again he says, 'Who would not say that Guṇādhya is Vyāsa himself returned to this world.'² Bāṇa³ praising the inhabitants of Ujjayini, says that they were passionately fond of the *Mahabharata*, the *Puranas*, and the *Ramayana*, and he calls them at the same time, 'intelligent lovers' of the *Bṛhatkathā*. The *Daśarupa* indicates the *Bṛhatkathā* next to the *Ramayana*, as another mine for dramatic authors.⁴ Dhanapāla in the introduction to his *Tilakamanjari*, after having done homage to Vālmiki and to the 'Son of the Virgin' (Vyāsa), who are for the poets like the sun and the moon and before passing on to the author of the *Sētubandha* mentions immediately that of the *Bṛhatkathā*, for, he adds, other Sanskrit Kathās are derived from it and by its side look like garments made of borrowed pieces.⁵ In Cashmere, Kṣēmendra 'concentrating in bunches' the great poems has composed three *Manjaris*, the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata*, and the *Bṛhatkathāmanjari*. In Nepal, the Nepala-mahātmya draws an instructive parallelism between the legend of Vālmiki and that of Guṇādhya.⁶ Both come to Nepal, Vālmiki because Narada, instructed by the gods, points out to him, to the north of the hill of Changu-Narayan, the confluent of the two branches of the Virabhadra as the 'sacred spot worthy to be the cradle of a poem as pure' as the *Ramayana*; Guṇādhya, because Siva has imposed upon the demigod of whom he, Guṇādhya, is the human incarnation, as condition of his deliverance, after the composition of the *Bṛhatkathā*, the erection of a *lingam* on a sacred spot difficult of access; both before leaving Nepal, Vālmiki, to return to his hermitage, and Guṇādhya to heaven, erect commemorative *lingams*, the *Vālmikicvara* and the *Bhṛṅgavarā*. We shall later on comment on the Nepalese legend; for the present I simply draw the attention of the reader to the association full of significance of the two names, Vālmiki and Guṇādhya.

If it is a great honour for Guṇādhya to be represented as a demigod, the result, on the other hand, is to throw some obscurity around his personality. It is difficult, in the fanciful life attributed to him, to sort out the parts of history and of fiction, so much so, that, at first, his very existence has been doubted. Brockhaus, the first editor of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, as also Wilson and Lassen, did not believe in it, but that was at a time when there was no other proof of that existence but the affirmation of Somadeva. Yet,

¹ *Saptarṣi* (ed. of the *Kavya-māla*) 696.

² *Kādambari* (Peterson), p. 51, 15.

³ (Ed. of the *Kavya-māla*) Int., cl. 21.

⁴ *Ibid.* 33.

⁵ *Daśarupa* (Hall) 1, 61.

⁶ S. Levi, *Le Nepal*, I, 323; 203-4; 337-8.

on principle, it seems that such a doubt should never have existed. Why should Somadeva have invented Guṇāḍhya, whose existence could only diminish his own merit? Wilson would probably reply that Somadeva, being but a compiler, had no pretension to complete originality and that by paying a debt of gratitude to a fictitious Guṇāḍhya he considered himself free not to acknowledge what he owed to many real authors.¹

The question has been solved since by the remarks of Hall, in the preface of his edition of the *Vāsavadattā* of Subandhu (1859). On the strength, more especially of the evidence of the *Vāsavadattā* and of the *Kāvyaḍarṣa*, he has shown beyond doubt that the *Bṛhatkathā* existed in the seventh century.² In 1871 the discovery of the *Bṛhatkathāmanjari* of Kṣēmendra by Buhler³ has supplied us with new arguments: impossibility to admit that Kṣēmendra has abridged Somadeva as he is anterior to him or that Somadeva has amplified Kṣēmendra as he gives details and even whole stories which, far from having their origin in the summary narration of Kṣēmendra, throw light on its obscurities; on the other hand, facility to explain everything by the hypothesis of a common original; last, the existence of verbal differences which should go to prove that that original was in Paīçāçī. I content myself with this brief summing up of the arguments, deeming it useless to waste any more time on a cause which is definitely settled. That question, besides the articles of Buhler, has been the object of a study of Mr. S. Levi to which it is sufficient to refer the reader.⁴ Mr. Levi mentions in it yet another proof in favour of the existence of Guṇāḍhya: a *çloka* of a Cambodian inscription of the latter part of the ninth century in which there is an unmistakable allusion to Guṇāḍhya and to his work in prakrit.

That inscription is one of the five steles of the Thnal Baray, consecrated to the eulogy of King Yaçovarman (Bergaigne Insc. sanscrites de Campa et du Cambodge, 2e fasc. Nos. LVI-LX):

LVIII. C, 15

*pāradaḥ sthīrakalyāno guṇāḍhyaḥ prākṛtāpriyaḥ
anītir yyo viçālākṣaḥ çūro nyakkṛtabhīmakah.*

'A Pāradaḥ but of which the Kalyāna subsists (willing to help but always happy) Guṇāḍhya who did not like the prakrit (rich in virtue but not loving harshness), Viçālākṣa, a stranger to the *nīti* (with big eyes but without the torments of exile). It was Çūra having humbled Bhimaka.' (Trans. Bergaigne-Barth, l. c. p. 287-8.)

¹ Wilson, Works (repr.), Essays I. 160.

² (*Bibliotheca Indica*) Intr., pp. 22-4.

³ *V. Indian Antiquary*, I (1872), 802-9 et Detailed Report of a Tour and in search of Sanskrit Mss. Extra N. (J. of the Bombay branch of the R. As., S. 1877), pp. 46-7.

⁴ *La Bṛhatkathāmanjari de Kṣēmendra* [Journal As., VIIIes., VI (1885), pp. 397-479 and VII (1886), pp. 178-222]; cf. VI. pp. 412-16.

Mr. Barth has pointed out (l. c. p. 313) another allusion
LIX. B, 26

*gunnvitas tiṣṭhatu dūṣito pi
sthānārppito yena punar guṇādhyah
gādo py alaṇ cāruvibhūṣanāya
haraprayuktaḥ kim utāmṛtāṅguḥ*

'The virtuous man might commit numberless sins; if he was really worthy (a guṇādhyah) he reinstated him in his place; the *gādo* is sufficient for a graceful ornament if it is Siva who uses it; what to say of the moon? (who is herself also *dūṣita* as she diminishes so as to be a crescent.' (Trans. proposed by Mr. S. Levi.)

I still suspect a third allusion:

LVIII. C, 9

*yasya kīrttēr guṇadhyāyā dyūllāṅghanarāyād iva
patitā bhūsamudrādṛṇ kṣamāgāmbhūryadhairyaḍik.¹*

But I will not undertake the task of explaining the ambiguity.

Since then, other texts—like the one of the *Tilakamanjari* already mentioned—have come to corroborate our information regarding the existence of Guṇādhyah; they will be mentioned later on as far as necessary.

CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE PROOFS

A. External Proofs

Without repeating what has already been said on that subject I yet wish to add a few remarks.

The reasons we had hitherto for our belief in the existence of Guṇādhyah are not all equally decisive. If we leave aside the intrinsic proofs, based on the comparison between the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and the *Bṛhatkathamanjari*, we have the other texts where we come across either the very name of Guṇādhyah or of his work or allusions to the subject matter of the *Bṛhatkathā* or stories which seem to have been borrowed from it.

All evidence posterior to Somadeva and Kṣēmendra must be suspected on principle. It is not proved that those authors knew by the name of *Bṛhatkathā* a work different from the two Cashmerian poems; they may have, taking it on trust, praised up the unknown original of which the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and the *Bṛhatkathāmanjari*, in spite of their unequal but undeniable literary value, were said to be only modest summaries. In fact the name *Bṛhatkathā* has, in common parlance, been used to mean the

¹ Bergaigne corrects 'Kīrttēr' into 'Kīrttir' and reads 'guṇādhyā yā. It seems to me that without altering the adopted reading, it would be possible to translate as follows which would still leave room for ambiguity. 'From his glory, rich in qualities, as a current which goes across the sky, has fallen upon the earth, in the sea and on the hills, the example of endurance, depth and stability.'

Manjari of Kṣēmendra; the two manuscripts of the Deccan College have no other nor has the manuscript recently discovered in Nepal.¹ Better still, the *Daṣarūpa* (1, 61) mentions the *Bṛhatkathā* by name; in this connexion the *Avaloka* of Dhanika notes that it is the source of the *Mudrarākṣasa* and quotes two *glokas* with the mention: 'iti *Bṛhatkathāyām*', and it happens that those two verses are Kṣēmendra's (B.K.M., 2, 216-17). In that passage there is surely an interpolation. Hall² had already thought so but the reason he gives is not the most serious one, for he was not able to give any intrinsic motive to suspect the text. It is well proved now that the *Daṣarūpa* dates from the latter part of the tenth century.³ If so, it is then anterior to the *Bṛhatkathāmanjari* by about fifty years. Whether Dhanika, the author of the *Avaloka*, be the same as Dhanamjaya, the author of the *Daṣarūpa*, or only a contemporary, the impossibility is about the same as neither of them would be able to quote Kṣēmendra. Must we then consider the whole passage as interpolated? Not at all, for in it there is no question of the *Manjari*. Only the mention of Kṣēmendra is a posterior addition, and that too a very clumsy one as the text and the commentary had evidently in view only Guṇāḍhya; but the fact is instructive, as it proves that, at a period relatively remote,⁴ the name '*Bṛhatkathā*' made one think only of Kṣēmendra's book.

We must then with regard to external proofs consider only evidence which is anterior to Kṣēmendra. The sources which furnish us with that evidence are, besides the Cambodian inscription referred to above:

Dandin, Kāvyaadarṣa I, 38,

Subandhu, Vāsavadattā (Hall), pp. 110 and 147,

Bāṇa, Kādambari (Peterson), p. 51, 15,

Bāṇa, Harṣacharita (Hall), Int. 18,⁵

Dhanamjaya, Daṣarūpa (Hall), 1, 61 (if one admits the text, at least that of Dhanamjaya, as authentic.)

Dhanika, Avaloka ad Daṣarūpa IV, 34.

¹ Cf. *supra* p. 4.

² *Daṣarūpa*, ed. Hall, p. 59 and *Vāsavadattā* ed. Hall, Preface, p. 55; Cf. S. Levi, La B. K. M. de Kṣēmendra (J. As., VIIIes., VII (1886), p. 220-2).

³ Cf. S. Levi, Th. Indien, pp. 17-18.

⁴ S. Levi, La B. K. M. de Kṣēmendra (J. As., VIIIes., VII (1886), p. 221-2 n.).

⁵ *Samuddīpitakandarpā kṛtagauriprasādhana-haralīleva no kasya vismayāya Bṛhatkathā*. The first allusion is relatively clear. But do what I can I am not able to elucidate the other one. Perhaps there was in the *Bṛhatkathā* an episode, describing the toilet of Gauri which was a favourite subject for poets (cp. Kumarasambhava VII, 7 sq.).

[The other allusion is quite as clear as the first if the lines 83, 84 and 85, of the first Taranga of the *Kathāsaritsagara* be read along with this: The ordinary meaning is that which soothed Gauri the Consort of Śiva. The double entendre implied would be more difficult but that is not to the point here.

Vide *Nirṇayasāgara* Edition of the *Harṣa Charita* Intr., *Ġloka* 17 and the comment below, Also Trans. by Cowell and Thomas]—S. K.

The evidence of the *Nalāchampu* (1, cl. 14) of Trivikramabhaṭṭa, which praises the charm of Guṇāḍhya and couples his name with that of Bāṇa, can be disputed. The *Nalāchampu* is anterior to the *Sarasvatikanthābharana* which quotes the Çl VI, 19 of the former, but by how much? If we admit the opinion, which attributes the *Sarasvatikanthābharana* to Bhoja, and if we date it from the eleventh century, it will be very difficult to admit at the same time the hypothesis that the author of the *Nalāchampu* was in a position to know Kṣēmendra. Yet we shall not consider the allusion of the *Nalāchampu* as an irrefutable proof.

We shall leave aside, for the present, all the other texts—viz.: the passages of the *Saptaçati* quoted above; the text of *Kuvalayānada* (chap. on the *parikara*, beginning) which styles the subject matter of the *Bṛhatkathā* as 'fanciful'—that of the *Yaçastilaka* of Somadeva Suri (IV—T. II, p. 113 ed. of the *Kavya-māla*) which mentions Guṇāḍhya in a list of poets—that of the *Tilakamanjari* already referred to, and the notes of the commentators of Bāṇa and Subandhu.

The allusions to the heroes of the *Bṛhatkathā* and to the stories which, following Somadeva and Kṣēmendra, some have attributed to Guṇāḍhya form an order of proofs still more disputable even where they are found in works anterior to the two Cashmerian poems. It was just on that very extension of the cycle of the *Bṛhatkathā* that Wilson based his opinion denying the existence of Guṇāḍhya. Many of those tales belong to the old stock of legends either Brahmanic or Buddhist. Even those which are generally regarded as peculiar to the *Bṛhatkathā*, more especially the history of the king of the Vatsas, Udayana, and of Vāsavadattā, from which theatre and romance have borrowed to such a large extent and which is the object of so many allusions in literature, seem to have been a kind of property without a master having its existence in folk-lore, in versions different from each other. A *Vāsavadattā* is already mentioned by Kātyāyana the grammarian. The *Vāsavadattā* mentioned by Bāṇa is probably the same as the one we read of in the book of Subandhu: Cartellieri¹ has proved that the object of Bāṇa was to surpass the work of Subandhu and the parallel passages of the *Vāsavadattā* and of the *Harṣa-charita* since pointed out by Cowell and Thomas² do not leave any room for doubt on the matter. We have then already one, if not two, *Vāsavadattās*. Apparently her adventures differ from those of the heroine of the *Svapnāvasavadattā* of Bāsa who may be the same as the heroine betrothed to Samjaya and mentioned by Bhavabhuti in the *Mālati-Mādhava*.³ Now, neither of these two stories of

¹ Bāṇa and Subandhu, Wiener Zeitschrift für die K. des Morgenl. I (1887).

² The *Harṣa-charita* of Bāṇa (Or. Tr. Fund, New S. II), notes *ad pp.* 67, 74, 239.

³ (ed. Bhandarkar, II, 92)—Of. S. Levi, Th. Ind., p. 158 and note in the Appendix, Bhandarkar in Peterson (3rd Edition) II. 72 n.—Whether Bāṇa is anterior to Bhavabhuti, *vide* *Mālati-Mādhava*, ed. Bhandarkar, Int. page IX.

Vāsavadattā—if we judge of the second one by the native evidence of the *Svapnavāsavadattā*—is the same as that we read of in the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.¹

I say nothing of the Vāsavadattās who have nothing in common but the name with the wife of Udayana; for instance, the criminal courtesan of Mathura who in the *Divyāvadāna*² was converted *in extremis* to Buddhism! Whatever may be the portion invented by each author, one has, at least, to admit as probable that they have not drawn from an identical source. A legend of Udayana (= Udena) is found in the *Aṭṭhakathā of the Dhammapada*,³ in the *Divyāvadāna*,⁴ in the Chinese and Tibetan versions of the Vinaya of the school of Mūla-Sarvāstivādins.⁵ Without more information how could we then separate that one from the common stock of Buddhist legends or attribute it to a particular author, who would be Guṇāḍhya, and then see in it the proof of his existence?

This is my reason to set aside on principle all the arguments of that description except four and those four are precisely those which, I believe, have not yet been discussed.

In the texts, allusions to Udayana are many but as rare are allusions to another hero of the *Bṛhatkathā*, his son Naravāhanadatta. I know of three, certainly anterior to the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and to the *Bṛhatkathāmanjari*. Wilson has already noticed the first in his edition of the *Daṣakumāracharita*. The second one has been noted by Hall,⁶ but unfortunately he has not turned it to such an account as one might have expected.

Danḍin in the first chapter of the *Daṣakumāracharita* puts the following words in the mouth of the nymph *Suratamanjari*: 'Vīraçēkhara, son of Mānasavēga, grandson of king Vēgavat has a hereditary foe in the present emperor of the Genii, the vigorous offspring of Naravāhanadatta, king of the Vatsas.' Subandhu in the Vāsavadattā mentions Naravāhanadatta⁷ in the course of a comparison.⁸ The *Daṣarūpa* (IV, 34) defines the *permanent feeling* (*sthayi bhava*) 'that which is not overcome in the course of action by feelings of the same kind or by opposed feelings.' The Avaloka gives as a first instance of it the love of Naravāhanadatta for Madanamanjūṣa.⁹ Those allusions are precise. Now, we know, not to speak of the *Bṛhatkathā Ḡlokasamgraha* which we leave aside for the present, only two books mentioning those two personages; those are the poems of Somadeva and of Kṣēmendra; besides, the struggle between Naravāhanadatta and Mānasa-

[¹ The Vāsavadattā of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* is the Vāsavadattā of the *Svapna Vāsavadattā* in all the main details of the story, according to the recently published drama. A study of the drama will appear in an early number of the Journal.]—S. K.

² XXVI (p. 352 sq. Cowell and Neil).

³ ad v. 21-3.

⁴ XXXVI (p. 528 sq. Cowell and Neil).

⁵ *Infra*, III part.

⁶ *Vas.* p. 9.

⁷ P. 33, 8-9 (ed. Nim.-Sag.).

⁸ *Vas.* (Hall) p. 87.

⁹ Madanamanjūka in K.S.S. and the B.K.M. The true form seems to be that of the B.K.Ç.S., Madanamanjūka.

vēga forms the substratum of books 14-15 of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*. The story of Naravāhandatta seems to be of purely literary origin; anyhow I do not know of any trace of it in the Buddhist legend of Udayana. We are then merely forced to admit that Daṇḍin, Subandhu and Dhanika have really in their mind the *Brhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya, though we may at the same time be surprised to see that Dhanika should have chosen such an example! In the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Madanamanjukā is only the first in date of Naravāhanadatta's wives, and it is an exaggeration to say that her thoughts are always with the hero.

The fourth text will be found in the *Pañcastavī*.¹ The name of Naravāhanadatta is not mentioned there but there is an allusion to the offspring of Udayana and to his universal sovereignty over the Vidyādharas, allusion which, it is more than clear, means no one else but him; the very fact that it was not necessary to mention him by name, shows how well known was the work consecrated to him. The evidence of the *Pañcastavī* alone would not be quite decisive because we do not know the exact date of that book. But a verse of the *Pañcastavī* is quoted in the *Kāvya-prakāśa*, another one in the *Kuvalayānanda*, and a third one in the *Sarasvatikanthā-bharana*; it must be anterior to Bhoja and the greatest probability is that the son of Udayana is here again the hero of the original *Brhatkathā* and not that of the *Manjarī*.

We have brought severe criticism to bear on the proofs of the existence of Guṇāḍhya, but we do not regret it. It is true those proofs have been reduced to a slender cluster, but we believe that cluster to be hereafter unbreakable.

B. Internal Proofs

I have arrived now to the internal proofs supplied by the comparison between the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and the *Brhatkathāmanjarī*.

We all know that the former has got detailed narrations which cannot possibly be the simple development of a corresponding passage in the latter. There are even in it stories which Kṣēmendra has not used at all. We know also that the difference between the two cannot be explained but by the hypothesis of a common original, and we may admit that that original was a prakrit version. But all this does not solve the problem; it simply places it somewhere else. The anterior existence of a collection of tales, imitated by our two poets, could no longer be questioned, but the question was whether that collection was really the ancient book in Pañcāci called *Brhatkathā* which tradition attributed to a certain Guṇāḍhya.

¹ *Prithvibhuja*, py Udayanaprabhavaṣya tasya Vidyādharaprapñatichumbhitapadapīṭhaḥ-yao chakravartipadavipraṇayah sa eṣa tvatpadapanakajarahkṇajah prasādaḥ [Pañcastavī, Kāvya-mala (Laghu), part III, p. 18; pañcastava, v. 6].

Still, after Hall's remarks, I do not see that any serious doubt has been entertained on that point. Mr. Speyer¹ the last of the savants who have busied themselves about the *Brhatkathā* does not even ask himself the question and yet a simple remark ought to have aroused serious suspicions. Somadeva begins the *Kathāsaritsāgara* by announcing that he is going to give a faithful copy of his original and then he starts with the fanciful legend of Guṇāḍhya. It must have then been in the original. There is no doubt of it as Kṣēmendra himself begins also with the same announcement. Was it then necessary to admit that Guṇāḍhya had himself invented his own myth? That supposition is contradicted by the text itself which at the end of the first book attributes the composition of that book to King Sātavāhana. Wilson who was not in possession of the information we have to-day and who had before him almost only the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, was right in saying that, for Somadeva, Guṇāḍhya was nothing else but one of the personages of the tale.² That remark of his has the same weight with regard to the author of the collection imitated by Somadeva. Since the *Brhatkathā* had incorporated to itself the legend of Guṇāḍhya how, in the absence of other documents, make sure that the original of the two Cashmerian poets was, for the rest also, the true *Brhatkathā*? I see only one way of turning the difficulty; it is to charge the anonymous author of that collection with imposture and to saddle him with the invention of Guṇāḍhya and of his fanciful story. In that case that invention would have been inspired by the desire to give the book a venerable patronage. If we consider only the two Cashmerian poems no objection can be taken to that assertion which, on the other hand, is not susceptible of any demonstration. That same assertion will appear rash in presence of older evidence, which mentions by name Guṇāḍhya among the perfectly historical court poets, and I make bold to say that it will be entirely disproved by our study of the *Brhatkathā-Ālokaśamgraha*.

Thus, so far as criticism has advanced, one has the right to affirm:

- (1) The existence at a remote period of the *Brhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya,
- (2) The existence of a compilation imitated by Somadeva and Kṣēmendra,
- (3) but it remains to show clearly the relations between that compilation and the original *Brhatkathā*.

The *Brhatkathā-Ālokaśamgraha* makes more tangible still the reality of the *Brhatkathā* and at the same time proves beyond doubt that the Cashmerian version is altogether faulty. It gives a greater force to the arguments supplied by the comparison between the poems of Kṣēmendra and of Somadeva as to their common origin, and it gives us, at the same time, means to

¹ Het zoogenaamde groote verhaal (De *Brhatkathā*) etc. (Verslagen en Mededeelingen der K. Ak. van Wetenschappen, Afd. Lett., 4e R., D. IX—1907).

² Works (repr.), Essays, I, p. 160.

rectify the conclusion arrived at as to the identity of their model with the *Bṛhatkathā*.

Though its relationship with the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and the *Manjari* cannot be denied it differs from them too much for us to assign to it the same original with the other two. Yet, the title shows clearly that it is only a summary of an older book. The same conclusion can also be deduced from internal evidence. It supposes the *Bṛhatkathā* well known. It was even necessary that the whole tale should be known in every detail and that the reader should be fully acquainted with the pedigree of the heroes and their respective degrees of kindred. The long story of Udayana and Vāsavadattā, Udayana and of Padmāvatī, is simply alluded to and those allusions would be very obscure for any one who would not be, as Bāṇa and the inhabitants of Ujjayini, 'an intellectual lover of the *Bṛhatkathā*'—For instance, when a heavenly messenger, at the very beginning of the narration, informs the munis, assembled on the Black Mountain, that the Emperor of the Vidyādhara will come the next day to visit his 'uncle,'¹ how would one guess, without being familiar with all the heroes, that the personage in question is Pālaka the brother of Vāsavadattā? Nothing could prove better the long popularity of the *Bṛhatkathā*.

On the personality of Guṇāḍhya itself, the *Bṛhatkathā-Ālokasamgraha* does not give us any information; his name is mentioned once incidentally. In chapter XIV, 60-1, the king of the Vidyādhara, Vēgavat, having forsaken the world, asks news of his son Mānasavēga and inquires how he is governing his kingdom; the two messengers, of whom he asks that question, answer: 'Guṇāḍhya himself would not be able to praise him.' I believe the answer to be a double meaning one as Mānasavēga was an abominable tyrant. Anyhow that word does not prove anything except the proverbial ingenuity of Guṇāḍhya. As to his legend there is no allusion whatever made to it.

¹ B.K.C.S., III. 93.

NOTES AND EXTRACTS

CASTE IN INDIA

ITS ORIGINS

ACCORDING to Dr. Vincent A. Smith, M.A., who writes on this subject in *East and West* for June, the caste system had its beginning 300 years B.C. Nobody can tell with any accuracy the actual number of separate castes existing at this moment, but a recent Hindu writer of authority puts it at a guess at 3,000 out of a population of 315 millions; and some figure of that order may be taken to represent the fact, says the *Review of Reviews*.

A caste is a group of families bound together, and separated from all other groups, by special rules of its own concerning ceremonial purity, especially in the matters of diet and marriage. Admission to such a group can be obtained only by birth, and no family, or individual, can ordinarily pass from one group to another. Expulsion from a caste means total loss of all social position, but it does not confer the privilege of entry to another group, unless the persons expelled are strong enough to form a new caste of their own. Expulsion is the extreme penalty for a serious breach of the rules regulating ceremonial purity, which form the bond of the caste, and are enforced by the public opinion of the members. The families composing a caste may, or may not, have traditions of descent from a common ancestor, and, as a matter of fact, may or may not, be of one stock. The individuals may, or may not, be restricted to the pursuit of a particular occupation, or of several occupations. A caste is composed of Hindus only—that is to say, persons who follow the Hindu mode of life, and more particularly revere the Brahman and respect his sanctity.

The peculiar geographical isolation of India is the chief reason why the caste institution has developed in that land, in a form so much more rigid and elaborate than exists elsewhere. Notwithstanding the innumerable invasions and immigrations through the north-western passes, and in a lesser degree from the north-east, the encircling seas and mountains kept ancient India apart from the rest of the world to an exceptional degree, and provided the opportunity for the development of a special, isolated type of civilization. Inside India the conditions of life produced a multitude of independent States,

and, again, inside each State, scores of more or less autonomous tribes and thousands of village communities, the existence of which favoured the creation of isolated social groups, among a population devoted to reverence for ceremonial purity, in imitation of the Brahman ideal. The Hindu reverence for custom also has played a large part in the evolution of the caste system.

* * *

ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE IN INDIA

Correspondence which has passed between the Royal Anthropological Institute and the Secretary of State for India in connexion with the scheme for the establishment of an Oriental Research Institute in India is published in *Man*. The Council suggested that Anthropology—not in the restricted sense of physical anthropology alone but in the broader significance of the science of the evolution of human culture and social organization—should be an integral feature of the Institute, and offered to the Government of India their assistance in promoting this department of the work. The Hon'ble E. S. Montagu, Under-Secretary for India, in acknowledging the letter, writes: 'I am directed by the Secretary of State for India in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 18th April regarding the scheme for the establishment of an Oriental Research Institute in India. His Lordship is fully alive to the importance of anthropological research, and desires to thank the Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute for their offer of assistance, which he is conveying to the Government of India. But it would at present be premature to discuss the exact scope of the proposed Research Institute in India, as will be understood from the enclosed extract from the resolution on educational policy published by the Government of India on the 21st February last.' The resolution states that before formulating a definite scheme for the Institute the Governor-General in Council desires to consult local governments.

* * *

ARCHÆOLOGY IN GWALIOR

Valuable Relics and Treasures

H. H. the Maharajah Scindia of Gwalior is giving special attention to the valuable archæological relics and treasures in his State, and is taking steps to create an Archæological Department in Gwalior, for which His Highness has sought the advice and co-operation of the Director-General of Archæology in India. Already gratifying results have been obtained from the excavations at Besnagar, the ancient Vidisa, where a pillar was discovered a few years ago bearing an inscription which records that it was set up by the

ambassador of Antialkidas, the Greek king of the Punjab, who was ruling in the middle of the second century B. C. Near the pillar are the remnants of a stone railing which is the only specimen of its kind belonging to a Hindu monument, and it will be interesting to see whether the site yields other remains of a unique character.

* * *

BISHOP CALDWELL'S GRAMMAR (NEW EDITION)

Bishop Caldwell's *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South-Indian Family of Languages* is so well known a classic of Indian philology as to need no introduction to readers who are interested in the ethnology or linguistics of India. A new edition is to be published by Messrs. Kegan Paul. As a justification for attempting a new edition, it is only necessary to say that the book was originally published so long ago as 1856, and that the only other edition produced by the author dates from 1875, and has long been out of print. Consequently it has become rare and expensive. The present edition is a reprint, revised and brought up to date, of a work which has so far found no successor, and will in no case be rendered wholly superfluous by the labours of other scholars. As the pioneer effort of Dravidian scholarship on European lines it will always have its own interest and importance, even if others should hereafter build on the foundations so solidly laid by the most distinguished investigator of Dravidian philology.

The Government of India are about to address Provincial Governments on the subject of the Resolutions passed at the last Museum Conference. These Resolutions are well known and already action has been taken on some of them. A Standing Museum Committee has been appointed, and the Government of India have set their faces against archæological treasures going out of the country. There are, however, several important points on which the opinions of Provincial Government are being sought, including the unification of Museum publications.

* * *

An interesting archæological find has been brought over to Maripur for shipment to Calcutta. It is a stone statue of a bull in a sitting posture of a couchant beast with left foreleg thrown out. It was discovered by the roadmakers in the near neighbourhood of Burirhat in Thanapalong. Its ears and horns are wanting and those spots are marked with holes. It is supposed that those limbs were golden and have been removed. There is an inscription on the pedestal which when deciphered will illumine some dark corners in the history of Parganah, Idilpur.

TRANSLITERATION OF NAMES

The Government of Madras have issued a list of Indian personal names, transliterated and prepared in accordance with the rules prescribed by the Government of India, in order to ensure uniformity in the spelling and arrangement of such names in all official publications and correspondence.

* * *

A DEAD LANGUAGE READ AT LAST

To discover a language—or, rather, to learn to read a language long forgotten—is the achievement of a young Frenchman, M. R. Gauthiot. All we have known of Sogdiana and its people is that Strabo and Herodotus mentioned them, that an Iranian text says that grasshoppers were the scourge of the country, and that a Sogdian portrait appeared on the tomb of Darius Hydaspes. In the deserts of Chinese Turkestan the sands have buried a vast civilization that was forgotten for centuries. The dry sand preserved intact numbers of manuscript in an unknown language, written in unknown characters. These M. Gauthiot has managed to decipher, by the fortunate finding of fragments that had notes in other known languages. It is expected that now we may learn something of Sogdiana and the civilization that lies beneath the sands.

* * *

THE MAHABHARATA

Chronological Calculations

The period dealt with in the Mahabharata is generally supposed to be buried so completely in the mists of antiquity as to render it impossible to calculate its date with any approximation to accuracy. This may be so, writes the *Statesman*, but Professor Joges Chandra Roy contributes an interesting paper to the latest proceedings of the Astronomical Society of India, in which a daring attempt is made to arrive by astronomical calculation at the date of the war to which the great epic poem refers. The Professor analyses with much acuteness both internal and external evidence as to the period of the struggle. The internal evidence, from the astronomical point of view, is to be found in the references occurring in the poem to the position of the sun at various times in the development of the story with other astronomical data. These are somewhat complicated by the fact that the poet or poets describe the state of the heavens as abnormal during the time the struggle lasted as might have been expected in a campaign which cost a million lives in eighteen days. 'The planets,' says Professor Roy, 'are made to occupy such positions as indicate evil times. Nature ran wild and the curious reader will find among other phenomena the mention

of sun spots.' In spite of all difficulties, however, the Professor arrives at the conclusion, which has already found qualified acceptance, that the struggle probably took place in the 24th century B. C. and that the greater portion of the present Mahabharata was composed about the 13th century B.C.

* * *

INTERESTING EXCAVATIONS

Many in Pondicherry have had lately an interesting subject of conversation in connection with the recent excavations that were made on the 'Place du Gouvernement.' For some days past, a number of coolies have been busily engaged in digging a plot of ground forming part of the maidan, and to the surprise of the curious onlookers, they, one fine day, brought to light some quaint-looking monoliths. What the town intends doing with these relics of bygone days of grandeur, no one seems to know; but, nevertheless, it may interest many here to learn how these masterpieces of Indian workmanship found their way to the graves they now occupy. For this purpose, we must go back to the days when the French were at the height of their glory in India, in the year 1750 when Dupleix, after having won so many victories, thought he could stop a while, to enjoy the delights that peace and fame could bestow on him. These monoliths in those far-off days belonged to a pagoda in the renowned town of Ginjee, whose king, a friend and ally of Dupleix, in recognition of the latter's services, made them a gift to him. Dupleix, who had now styled himself 'Nabob of India,' wanted to build himself an oriental palace with these colonnades, but was unfortunately unable to do so, owing to his recall to France. So for years these beautiful pillars lay scattered about the town of Pondicherry till the British, in 1761, carried the pick of them away to Madras. In 1793, the then French Governor, Monsieur de Chermest, had 168 monoliths of the number that remained buried in the actual 'Place du Gouvernement.' When Viscount George Valentia, a kinsman of the celebrated Diamond Pitt, visited Pondicherry on February 5, 1804, he saw many of these columns lying about the said 'Place,' and made mention of them in his writings.

About thirty-two years later, these columns of granite which were destined for the famous 'Palais Dupleix' scattered on the 'Place Dupleix' as well as on the north of the 'Place des Capucins' (now disappeared), were ordered by General Marquis de Saint-Simon to be buried where they lay. In 1871 some of these monoliths were unearthed in order to form the pedestal to Dupleix's statue and also to ornament the entrance to the pier; two others were erected in the Municipal Market. In 1892, the late Monsieur Armand Gallois Montbrun, Maire of Pondicherry, in his researches for the tomb of the first Governor of Pondicherry, came across another lot of these monoliths, which must have been left where they were found, for we do not

see traces of them elsewhere. To enquiries made, as to the reasons of these excavations being carried out, the reply was given that when it became known that one of the sections of the maidan was sold to the 'Banque de l'Indo-Chine' for building purposes, fears were entertained that some of these columns lay buried in that spot.

* * *

EARLY ASTRONOMY

Though he may know little of the scientific side of the lore of the stars, there can scarcely be anybody for whom the subject of astronomy does not possess an irresistible fascination. Yet though the last two or three hundred years have witnessed an enormous increase in our knowledge of this wonderful science, what perhaps is more remarkable than our modern discoveries is the extraordinary knowledge attained by the ancient stargazers without any of the instruments which render the task of the astronomer of to-day comparatively simple. Mr. Maunder, the Superintendent of the Solar Department of Greenwich Observatory, gave a most interesting lecture on the beginnings of the science at Hampstead, and with the aid of Babylonian monuments, traced astronomical records back to 4,000 B.C. But the actual origin of the science goes back into a much more remote antiquity and indeed must be, in a sense, almost coeval with the emergence of mankind from savagery. And if there be any truth in the legends of the mighty civilization of the lost Atlantis, whence Egypt is said to have derived her arts and science, then it is not improbable that much that we pride ourselves on having discovered in modern times is only a recovery of knowledge that was in the possession of mankind at an inconceivably remote date.

* * *

THE PRINCIPALITY OF SANDUR

The interest of an Indian State is not always commensurate with its size, and the pocket Principality of Sandur, whose young Raja has just been installed on the *gadi*, has a somewhat thrilling history. It is only 161 square miles in area and its population is something over 11,000 souls, while it is completely surrounded by the Madras District of Bellary; but none the less its Mahratta Rajas defied both Haidar Ali and Tippu Sultan, and suffered in consequence. However, in 1790 they actually drove out Tippu's Garrison, and Mysore never regained possession of the place. Then came troubles with the Peshwa, Baji Rao, who also failed to coerce this gallant little State, and was obliged to invoke a treaty by which the British were bound to help in subduing Poona's refractory vassals. Raja Siva Rao, submitted in a dignified manner to a force under Munro, and was granted in compensation an estate in Bellary District. The Peshwa, however, soon after made war on the British, and then Munro secured Siva Rao's restoration

to Sandur. Since then the dynasty has enjoyed quiet and safety under British protection. The present young Raja has been educated at Newington, the admirable Court of Wards College in Madras, and is reported to have won a good reputation there.—*The Pioneer*.

* * *

‘SHIELD’ SOVEREIGNS

‘Shield’ sovereigns, a variety issued in the early years of Queen Victoria, bearing a shield with the device of the Royal Arms in the place of St. George and the dragon, are in considerable demand by Indian merchants, with the result that bank clerks in many places are offering 20s. 6d. for each specimen. It has even become customary in many City banks to send round a collector at intervals during the day for such shield sovereigns as are paid in over the counter.

Why the demand has arisen is not quite clear, but several, apparently somewhat fanciful, reasons are alleged. It is said, for instance, that some Indian native princes have taken to displaying their wealth by plating the walls of their State rooms with British gold currency. Then it is alleged that the ordinary dragon sovereign is out of favour owing to religious scruples, but this looks like a misunderstanding of the story of the objections in China, where the dragon has long been a sacred emblem.

In an interview with the manager of the Numismatic Department of Messrs. Spink and Sons a representative of the *Standard* learned that the shield sovereign was first issued in 1838, and the issue continued with intervals until 1870. Inquiries at the Mint confirmed the fact that a preference for shield sovereigns has been shown in India from time to time.

* * *

BOMBAY IN INDIAN HISTORY

In commenting recently on a speech by Lord Sydenham we said:—‘Has not Lord Sydenham himself left it on record that, after being two years or more in this country, he did not know why Bombay had been originally ceded to the British?’ The sentence was open to misconstruction, and needs correction. The passage we had in mind was in Lord Sydenham’s introduction to Mr. Malabari’s ‘Bombay in the making’ in which he wrote:—The finest harbour in the East became a possession of the Crown on the marriage of Charles II to Catherine of Braganza, and was leased to the East India Company in 1669 for the modest rental of £10 per annum. Why this important possession was selected by the Portuguese as part of the dowry of their Princess is not clear; but in 1662 the Viceroy of Goa wrote to his King:—‘I see the best port your Majesty possesses in India, with which that of Lisbon is not to be compared, treated as of little

value by the Portuguese themselves.' If the great importance of Bombay was not realized by its first European owners, no clearer perception was vouchsafed to their British successors for many years. As to the first of the two points raised by Lord Sydenham in the passage quoted, we suggest that it is fairly clear from the secret article of the treaty of transfer that the Portuguese gave up Bombay because they received in exchange a promise that the King of England would guarantee their possessions in India. As for the importance of Bombay not being known to its first European owners, several attempts had been made to obtain it during the early years of the 17th century: the Surat Council had urged its purchase, and the Directors of the Company had drawn the attention of Cromwell to the suggestion, laying great stress on the excellence of the harbour and its natural isolation from land attacks. The modest rental of £10 per annum may certainly suggest that the King did not appreciate the value of his new possession; but one cannot wonder that the Company did not inform him, for it was not often they had a chance of doing such good business with a monarch who was always ready to fill his pockets at the expense of others. Our suggestion that Lord Sydenham did not know why Bombay had been ceded was incorrect and we regret having made it.—*The Times of India*.

* * *

A TRIBUTE TO INDIAN POETS

The Indian students in Great Britain gave a reception at the Criterion Restaurant in honour of Mr. Rabindranath Tagore, and the occasion was marked by a striking speech from Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, herself an Indian poet of note. More than 300 persons were present, including Sir Krishna Gupta, Mr. Gokhale, Sir John Muir-Mackenzie, Sir Sankaran Nair, the Master of Selwyn College, Cambridge, Mr. Abbas Ali Baig, Mr. Mead (President of the Quest Society), Mrs. P. L. Roy, Colonel and Mrs. Warliker, the Hon. Mr. Jinnah, Mrs. Cobb, Mr. and Mrs. Bevan, and the Hon. Montagu Waldegrave. Mr. J. M. Mehta, welcoming Mr. Tagore said the gathering represented 1,500 young and aspiring souls seeking to do honour to one of the greatest living sons of their Motherland. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu prefaced the duty of garlanding Mr. Tagore with a speech in which she said her heart had been pledged for years to every succeeding generation of students. There was a subtle bond between the poet and the student. On that occasion they were moved by the more sacred bond of nationhood. She asked Mr. Tagore to accept the garland of roses as the declaration of the love of his young countrymen for one who had gone so far in the service of the Motherland. Mr. Tagore deprecated the honours paid him. Such recognition was not for the poet; they did not pay a friend for the feast to which he invited them. If he had been so fortunate as to please them he was amply rewarded.

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 4. The Society shall be managed by a Committee consisting of the President, three Vice-Presidents, the Honorary Treasurer, two Joint Honorary Secretaries, three Branch Secretaries, the Editor, and five other members, retiring annually but eligible for re-election.
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 10. The Annual General Meetings will be held in July.
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INDIAN TALES

BEING THE PREFACE OF PROFESSOR LACÔTE'S WORK

(Translated by the Rev. A. M. Tabard, MA., M.R.A.S.)

INDIA is the classical land of tales. The Brahmanical rituals contain many of them ; Buddhists and Jains have made them the basis of their pious readings and the instrument of their religious propaganda ; the old epic poems owe them many an episode and in their turn they have supplied the romances of the following ages with ample matter for their interesting legends. After the efflorescence of the classical age romance has been the most popular and the most appreciated among literary productions ; it has fused together several kinds of literature which, as a rule, we distinguish from each other, i.e. fable, gnomic poetry, novel and even history ; the stage itself owes it many of its subjects. Still, if we except the edifying tales found in the Buddhist Scriptures, the ground work of which is always more or less deformed by religious views, no collection of tales really very old has come down to us. The very popularity of those tales condemned them ever to assume a new form. That is the common fate of that kind of literature with all nations. It has been the fate of Æsop's fables in Greece ; in France, the 'Romulus' of the Middle Ages was only old Phœdrus in a foreign garb. The Indian tales, having remained more alive, have readily made use of the modern dialects ; some, known only in Persian or Arab versions, seem to have forgotten the land of their birth ; others, having

crossed over in early times to the West, have taken root there and given birth to a large progeny; we have an instance of this process in the Legend of the Fountain of Jouvence imported by the first Nestorians.

Though they present themselves to us under a garb somewhat modern and sometimes foreign, the Indian tales have deep roots in the literary past of India. They are for its history, religious, literary and social, of an importance, of which no comparison with other literatures could possibly give an adequate idea. Indian literature is not purely speculative, but it has rarely been able to portray the contemporary life and customs of the people. Soon it cast its works in unchangeable moulds and became the slave of formulas. The personages, even the historical ones, the people, the customs which are portrayed there, appear to us as motionless and stereotyped. This is the reason why, when external indications are lacking, it is very difficult to date a given work; to try to follow the evolution of native idea is oftener than not a useless attempt. Not so with the tale which enjoys a peculiar privilege. Considered as less noble than the epic and the drama, less appreciated by first class writers, it has been more non-religious and less bound by the ordinary rules of literary productions. Nearer the masses by its subject matter and the readers to whom it appeals, it has, in spite of artificial literary forms, kept a taste for the living reality. However fanciful it may be, it introduces us into a mixed world where princes, priests, merchants and artisans feel, act and speak as men of their time, of their faith and caste. In a country so miserably poor in historical documents, tales are more than pleasing literary compositions; they are mirrors where the historian is allowed to contemplate, without being too much deformed, a pretty exact image of the life of the people and the vicissitudes of their religious and social state. To write the history of the Indian tales would be in a large measure to write the history of thought, religions and manners in India.

The subject is so vast that it would be premature to attempt to study it now in its entirety; for such an attempt we should make use of all the literary productions of India, of the works of all the schools and of the several periods; many texts would have to be scrupulously examined, numberless materials gathered together, classified and submitted to severe criticism; also the studies on each section of that history which have already appeared should probably be re-written with the help of fresh discoveries. We are not, so far, in a position to make that attempt in spite of the rapid conquests of contemporary science. Each day, as it brings us new documents, makes us understand better, how in everything that relates to India, generalizations and *travaux d'ensemble* are too bold in hypothesis and deduction and consequently exposed to nullification by the discovery of new facts. Yet, at the same time, they have not been useless as they have given us a provisional frame work for our studies; and, on the other hand, to

exclude them would be to resign oneself never to be able to understand India better.

What we can do now is to make use of recent materials and with their help to rectify previous information, but more especially to classify afresh and to examine apart the several facts already known in order to prepare substantial foundations for our future structures. That necessity will be illustrated by the example of the *Panchatantra*. That collection, the name of which young students learn in France simply by reading a classical edition of the fables of La Fontaine, could in a way be considered as sufficiently known since the publication of the work by Benfey. In spite of the interesting suggestions of Weber and of Bühler it looked, as if in the history of the *Panchatantra*, nothing more had to be done but to make precise mere details. It is true the study of Benfey on the destinies of the *Panchatantra* outside India remains of the first importance but the question of the *Panchatantra* in India presents itself to-day in a new light and has reached proportions altogether unexpected. During the last few years the constant researches, more especially of Mr. J. Hertell, to whom sixteen Sanskrit versions, Buddhist, Jain, Vishnuvite and Sivite are known, seem to have shown that the history of the *Panchatantra* has to be re-written almost in its entirety, and when that is done it will be simply a chapter of the general history of the Indian tales.

The present Essay has for its subject another sphere of the literature of tales, the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇādhya. This work is believed to have been an enormous compilation of tales and legends. The original is lost, and till lately it was known only by two Cashmerian versions of which one, Somadeva's, fully deserves the fame it has attained. It will be known hereafter by a third version found in Nepal which it is my good fortune to be able to publish together with this Essay. The *Bṛhatkathā*, as it appears to me in the light of this new version, is somewhat different from what it has hitherto been considered to be; its importance in the history of tales does not seem to be so great as was believed, but, on the other hand, the part it has played in the general history of Indian literature seems to be of capital importance.

Guṇādhya belongs to a period when Sanskrit had not yet replaced Prakrit in literature, at least in works which do not bear on religion. No doubt, the origin of the classical poems in Sanskrit is very ancient as is shown by the *Buddhacharita* of Aśvaghoṣa, but it was not all at once that Sanskrit imposed itself everywhere. Long before the period called classical, India possessed a non-religious literature, treatises on rhetoric and poetry, a theatre, learned languages; Sanskrit taught in the Brahmanical schools was at first only one of those languages and not the one in the commonest use.

The breach which seems to exist between the old Brahmanical literature and the classical productions would disappear if we had not lost the Prakrit

literature. India then would no longer astonish us by this phenomenon, unique though illusory, of a literature which begins where the others end, where the poetical arts are anterior to poets and where literary genius has attained the adult age without knowing infancy. Of that period, which it would be so interesting to know, hardly anything remains. When Prakrit works have not been buried in oblivion they have been altogether altered and have come down to us under a Sanskrit garb. Neither the ideas nor the way they are expressed were in complete accordance with the taste of the classical period though the influence of what I would call the Prakrit period has been deeply felt.

From what has been said it will be understood how interesting it must be to reconstruct, as it were, and unravel an original work, which was the most ambitious of Prakrit productions; which was regarded, if not as a model, at least as an inexhaustible mine for subjects and types; which is capable of making us understand better the evolution of Indian literature in throwing more light on one of its most obscure periods.

This Essay would not have been possible without the material and moral help I have received from my excellent master, M. Sylvian Levi. It is for me a pleasing duty of gratitude to thank him for it at the beginning of this work.

ESSAI SUR GUṆĀDHYA ET LA BRĪHATKATHĀ

BY PROFESSOR FELIX LACÔTE

(Translated by the Rev. A. M. Tabard, M.A., M.R.A.S.)

CHAPTER II

THE LEGEND OF GUṆĀDHYA

THE legend of Guṇādhya has come down to us in two versions considerably different from each other: the Nepalese version given by the Nepala-Mahatmya¹ and the Cashmerian version given at the beginning of the *Kathāsaritsāgara* and, with small variations, at the beginning of the *Brhatkathāmanjari* as also in chapter 27 of the *Haraṇacintamani* of Rājānaka Jayaratha. We shall at first take as a groundwork for our studies the text of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, as it represents more completely the Cashmerian version, which is much more developed than the one from Nepal. We shall ask ourselves from what materials the legend has been formed, how ancient it is, what it probably was when it started: we shall then attempt, as far as internal criticism will allow, to find out what we may learn from it as to the historical reality of Guṇādhya and of his work.

A

THE CASHMERIAN LEGEND

It begins with the description of the Kailāsa which Kṣēmendra, according to his literary principles, has developed with great complacency. Siva and Pārvati inclined to feelings of reciprocal confidence and conjugal blandishments are conversing on the Mountain: 'What can I do to please thee?' says the God. The daughter of the Mount (Girijā) answers: 'If thou art pleased with me, Lord, relate to me some amusing tale, but mind, it must be something new to me.' 'Past, present or future, my beloved, replies Siva, is there anything unknown to thee?'² Siva commences to seek in the collection

¹ The text will be given in the Appendix.

² K.S.S., I. 22-4.

of famous tales. To please his consort what better than his own history in a former life, the only one she might be ignorant of? He then explains to her that, as the daughter of Dakṣa, she had already been his spouse. Dakṣa, offering a sacrifice, invited to it all the gods, but excluded Siva through disdain. Siva destroyed the sacrifice. His wife indignant at Dakṣa's conduct gave up the body she had received from him. She was reborn daughter of the Himavat and was consecrated to the service of Siva. The gods knew that the son who would be born from her and the god would save them from their enemy Tāraka. When Siva was practising austerities on the mountain the gods sent him Love, but Siva destroyed him with the fire of his look. Pārvati then started practising austerities herself and became worthy to be the consort of the god.

The story, indeed, is neither long nor new. When it is finished Siva, as if his mind could not keep anything unknown to the goddess, adds with due gallantry, 'What other tale shall I relate to thee?' Pārvati losing her temper calls him '*a fraud*'. She wants something better than those worn out stories. 'Thou art not willing to relate a story which would be pleasing to my heart, in spite of all my entreaties! Thou hast carried the Ganga and worshipped the Sandhyā as I am fully aware.'¹ She wants something absolutely new. Siva will give in, but first of all the door must be locked up so that Pārvati may have the monopoly of the wonderful tale. The God begins² 'The gods enjoy absolute happiness and men endless misery, yet god-like men are apt to perform feats, which rejoice the senses by their wonderful singularity; that is why I will relate to thee the history of the Vidyādhara.' Thus was revealed to Pārvati the life of the seven Emperors of the Vidyādhara, a story *unheard of and most wonderful*.

This beginning is full of sense. The disgust manifested for tales too often repeated is that of a public who is tired of ordinary subjects which have become worn out, it is a criticism against authors who make use only of the traditional cycle of official legends. The gods are wearisome; their history is monotonous: it is always glory, enjoyment and perfection; men's life is low and sad; both these, the human and the divine, equally lack variety and mirth. The history of the Vidyādhara, on the contrary, is something new and consoling. According to Jayaratha it is a mixture

¹ K.S.S., I. 44.

² K.S.S., I. 47-8. I read *Prabhāgena* in one word. The word Divyamanuṣa is translated *demi-god* by P. W. and by Tawney; that translation suggests an idea of divine nature which is not very correct. The Divyamanuṣa or Divyapurūṣa (cf. K.S.S., LIV. 50) is a man endowed with divine powers, but of magic origin (cf. K.S.S., LIV. 17, 18, the enumeration of the powers possessed by four Divyapurūṣas, Rupasiddhi, Pramasamsiddhi, Imanasiddhi, Devasiddhi and the meaning of Divyacakṣus). The Vidyādhara are mere men, but they owe their superior natural powers to the knowledge of magic. One is not born a Vidyādhara; a man may become one by learning the Vidyādhara science; on the other hand, the children of Vidyādhara, if their parents refuse to teach them that science, will remain mere men (cf. the case of Vegavati).

of joy and pain (*sukhaduḥkhamayam*). One does not become a man-god without experiencing extraordinary vicissitudes, many of which are altogether human, but they do not beget sadness; they end in a demi-earthly paradise on the luminous plateaux beyond the first ridge of the insurmountable Himalayas,¹ where beings who though mere men are, like the gods, masters of the forces of nature, live in happiness and joy, and I may add, which is to the credit of the Hindu mind, with a certain amount of moral purity.² In short Siva lays down the principles of classical æsthetics in the choice of dramatic subjects.³ Invariably the ending must be a happy one, but the heroes will not reach it without suffering; suppress the mixture of pain and joy and you do away with even the possibility of a drama.

Let us suppose for a moment that Guṇāḍhya himself began his *Brhatkathā* as above. The conclusion we must then come to is that he came rather late in the history of literature. It would be necessary that before him many authors should have used up the divine legends for him to suppose that the reader is already wearied of them. We should also think that he really meant to give something new (*apūrva*) and that his work is not a compilation but altogether original or at least based on something different from the literary works already known. The precautions taken to guarantee the secret of the wonderful story show that he had not simply to pick it up, as it were, from among a number of known stories. We should also say that Guṇāḍhya must have invented the greater part of his *Brhatkathā*.

If that preamble does not belong to him, and we believe it does not, our conclusions will be more or less the same. When it was invented the writer must have been aware of the originality of Guṇāḍhya because a compilation would have been introduced in quite a different way. The subject which is thus ushered in, seems to have been solely the history of the Vidyādhara. If the relation of Siva had contained all the tales of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Pārvati would have had too many opportunities to interrupt him in exclaiming: *dhurtas tvam!* (wicked man thou art!)

Kṣemendra a commentator unreliable but very acute, as we shall notice later on, when he has to conceal the contradictions of his original has considerably ill-treated this preamble. It is true Pārvati asks for a new story, but she does not get angry when Siva relates to her his own adventure.

¹ To reach the last retreat of the Empire of the Vidyādhara it is necessary to cross the mountain through an underground passage, that of Tricetrā. (K.S.S., CIX).

² The Vidyādhara is generally a friend of the oppressed. He is to a certain extent the 'Lohengrin' of Indian legends; besides, a crime, even a slight moral fault, can deprive him of his divine dignity. The saint Jimutavahana lost it for having boasted of his virtue. (K.S.S., CXIII. 7-8).

³ S. Levi Th. Ind., pp. 30-31.

Then the God, without warning her that he is passing on to a new subject and neglecting any transition starts abruptly the story of the seven princes of the Vidyādhara. One may ask then what the sacrifice of Dakṣa and the consumed Love have to do in the preamble; the version of Somadeva alone gives a reason for their presence.

Jayaratha, who abridges a great deal, keeps the conversation of Siva and Pārvati, but in his work there is no trace of the story of Dakṣa.

Let us now see the sequence.

The gaṇa Puṣpadanta makes himself invisible, enters in and listens to the tale. He relates it to his wife Jayā who repeats it in the presence of Pārvati. Pārvati, in a rage, curses Puṣpadanta as well as the gaṇa Mālyavat who intercedes for him: both of them must resume the human condition. The curse is to end when Puṣpadanta meets in the forests of the Vindhya the Yakṣa Supratika who, having been cursed by Kuvera, has become a piṣāca under the name of Kāṇabhūti and relates to him the tale he has overheard through his indiscretion; Mālyavat will also have to hear the tale from the mouth of Kāṇabhūti. Puṣpadanta is born at Kauṣāmbi under the name of Vararuci or Katyāyana, Mālyavat at Supratisthita under the name of Guṇādhya.

Vararuci, having become minister to king Nanda, goes to the forest of the Vindhya in obedience to Durga who had appeared to him in a dream. He meets Kāṇabhūti, relates to him the history of the seven emperors of the Vidyādhara and also his own early history which is rather complicated; by this means he is at last able to shake off the curse.

Meanwhile, Guṇādhya, son of Ārutārthā, a young brahman girl who is not married but who has conceived that miraculous infant by a semi-divine being, Kirtisena, nephew of Vāsuki, king of the Nagas, has attained great fame in all sciences; king Śatavāhana makes him his minister. That king is a foundling adopted by king Dīpakarṇi (*Dīpakarṇa Ks.*); naturally, as is the rule for all foundlings, he belongs to a noble race. His father is a fallen Yakṣa. He does not know grammar and he makes himself ridiculous in confusing *modaka* 'a cake', with *modaka* (*ma udaka*) 'no water'. The queen laughs at him. Very sorry for his mistake he makes up his mind to learn. Guṇādhya asks for six years to teach him Sanskrit grammar but the minister Ārvavarman promises that six months will do. Guṇādhya laughs at him and binds himself never again to use Sanskrit or Prakrit or his own local dialect if Ārvavarman should succeed; that is, he would become dumb. Ārvavarman receives the revelation of the Katantra (Grammar from God Subrahmanya) and thanks to that new grammar wins the bet. Guṇādhya, condemned thereafter to silence, retires into the forest of the Vindhya. There he meets the piṣācas (demons); at a distance he hears them talk and learns their language, the piṣāci. Later on he meets the piṣāca (Kāṇabhūti) who relates to him the wonderful tale which he had heard from Vararuci,

Guṇāḍhya writes it down with his own blood in 700,000 verses and in the pañcācī language. He then orders two of his disciples to take it to king Sātavāhana who refuses to have anything to do with a work written in a rude language. Guṇāḍhya, in the sadness of his heart, causes his manuscript to be burnt up but not before he has read out each page of it to the wild beasts of the forest who are so charmed with it that they forget to eat. The game served up at the king's table becomes in consequence very lean! The king having heard of the wonders wrought by the Brahman in the forest comes to see him through curiosity and recognizes Guṇāḍhya; the first six parts of the work have been destroyed but the king saves the seventh, which contains the history of Naravāhanadatta; it is the *Brhatkathā*. Guṇāḍhya delivered from the curse reascends to his celestial abode and Sātavāhana composes that introduction to serve as a preface to the poem.

Such is the legend in its essentials. It contains, besides, many accessory details, more especially in the history of Vararuci. It is useless to distinguish the three different aspects under which it has come down to us, as it is identical in Kṣemendra's, Somadeva's and Jayaratha's though the latter has abridged it exceedingly. It is evident that the three authors have drawn from the same source. Jayaratha who cannot be earlier than the twelfth century¹ has even been able to make use of the work of the other two. What strikes one at first is that the legend places Guṇāḍhya in relation with both Sātavāhana and Vararuci.

Guṇāḍhya, says Kṣēmendra, was born at Pratiṣṭhāna (B.K.M. 1, I. 71), in the Deccan (B.K.M. 1, III. 4), on the Godavari (B.K.M. 1, III. 12). The *Kathāsaritsāgara* is not so explicit; Somadeva mentions the city Supratīṣṭhita (K.S.S. I. 65; VI. 8 and 24), capital of the *Pratiṣṭhāna* (*Pratiṣṭhāne' sti nagaram Supratīṣṭhitasamjñakam, tatra. . . K.S.S. VI. 8*); still he calls it also Pratiṣṭhāna (K.S.S. VI. 83; VIII. 12) and places it on the Godavari (K.S.S. VIII. 72). There is no doubt that this is the Pratiṣṭhāna known to have been the capital of the Andhrabhr̥tyas, who bore the patronymic name of Sātavāhana (Cāl—) or Čalivāhana (Čalāhana).² It is mentioned elsewhere: K.S.S. XXXVIII. *passim* (= B.K.M. 14, Maḍanamālakhayika). It is the city of Narasimha, the foe of Vikramāditya—K.S.S. LVIII. 2 (B.K.M. 16.84). It is that of Vikramasimha K.S.S. LXXV. sq. (B.K.M. 9. II). It is that of Trivikramasena—K.S.S. LI. 117 (B.K.M. 15, 55). It is a city of the Deccan. In some tales we are not told even where to look for it: K.S.S. LXXIII. 417—K.S.S. XL. 13 (B.K.M. 14, 385). In one tale it looks as if it were not in the Dekkan: K.S.S. VII. 58: it is the town of Suçarman (Kṣēmendra does not name the town, but he calls the king Vasuvarman); there is seen the famous garden Puṣpadanta which reminds one of Kauçambi where the palace of the wives of Udayana was also called Puṣpadanta (Divyavadana, p. 529, Cowell

¹ Bühler, *Det Report*, p. 61.

² According to Hemacandra, *Deçināmamāla*.

and Neil). The name of *Supratisthita* is also given (K.S.S. CXII. 89); *Supratisthita* B.K.M. 18, 137) to the city of Prasenajit (Senajit B.K.M.). However fanciful may be the geography of the tales and however little is known of the Prasenajit in question it is not easy to identify his city with Pratiṣṭhāna on the Godavari. In the *Mahabharata* (III. 8219) Pratiṣṭhāna is the name of a *tīrtha* not far from the confluence of the Ganges and of the Yamunā; elsewhere (V. 3905) it is the capital of Yayāti, the son of Nahuṣa; in the *Harivaṃṣa* (1412) Pratiṣṭhāna is situated on the Ganges (cf. *Harivaṃṣa* 635 and 1384). When mention is made of a city Pratiṣṭhāna or Supratisthita it is then not necessary to admit *a priori* that the capital of the Andhrabhṛtyas is meant. The *Brhatkathā* nowhere leads us to believe that Guṇāḍhya belonged to the Dekkan, nor that his work was written in the south. There are on the contrary signs that it was written at Ujjayini, or perhaps rather at Kauṣāmbi. The tradition may be very ancient as far as the name of Guṇāḍhya's country is concerned, but it is much more modern as to the identification of that country with the city of Pratiṣṭhāna on the Godavari.

It remains now to find out the reasons why Guṇāḍhya has been placed at the court of an Andhrabhṛtya and which Sātavāhana is meant in the legend. Very likely it is the one who in literary works bears *par excellence* the name of Sātavāhana, that is, Hala¹ the king to whom is attributed the *Sattasai* (*Hala-Saptaçatakā*).² The legend supposes for the Sātavāhana of the *Brhatkathā* a foster father called Dīpa (Dvīpi-)karni. This name is a patronymic (formed as *Dāçarathi*); it is not found in the puranic lists of the Sātavāhanas, but this Sātavāhana who is identified with the Hala of the *Saptaçatakā* is a Çātavarṇi;³ this analogy of names is almost worth a proof. Hala is believed to have been (about the end of the third century?) the centre of a literary court where a very refined poetry was in honour. The *Sattasai* is a witness to it; Bhuvanapāla in his commentary enumerates 384 poets, of whom Hala is one. We are not obliged to believe him on that point or to admit that the *Sattasai* belongs to Hala or even that it is contemporary with Hala; but it is around that king that native opinion has been pleased to group Prākṛit literature as around Vikramāditya Sanskrit literature.⁴ To a certain extent we may follow it as there was at that period a rich development of the prākṛits and as, if Mr. Pischel's views are correct, many a work known later on in Sanskrit may be traced to a prākṛit original. The *Brhatkathā*, supposing it belongs to that period, would not be the only one to have dis-

¹ *Abhidhānacintāmani*, 712—He is also mentioned in the *Deçnāmamāla* (ed. Pischel), III. 41; V. 11; VI. 15, 18, 19, 112, 125—cf. Bāṇa, *Harṣacarita*, Int., 13, *avinācinam agrāmyam akarot Sātavāhanah Viçuddhajātibhiḥ koçam ratnair iva subhāsitaiḥ*.

² Weber, *Das Saptaçatakam des Hala*, Vorwort X sq.—Pischel *Gram. der Prakrit-Sp.* (Gr. der I.-Ar. Phil., 1, 8), 13—Buhler (*Arch. Surv. West I.*, v, 59 sq.).

³ Cf. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Dekkan*, sections IV-VI—in the *Vātsyāyana Kāmasūtra*, Kuntala Çatakarni Çātavāhana kills the Mahadevi Malayavati with a pair of scissors.

⁴ Garrez, *Journ. Asiat.*, VIes., xx. 199 sq.

appeared to benefit Sanskrit. We know well enough that the baneful habit of altering literary works and of retaining at the same time the name of the author is one of the plagues of Indian literature; the classics—even Kalidasa himself—are not free from it altogether.

Most likely the presumed period of Hala must have seen grammatical controversies of which it is not rash to seek for an echo in the legend of Guṇāḍhya. Would it be going too far to find in the story of Sātavāhana, laughed at because he was ignorant of Sanskrit grammar, though skilful in prakṛit, a sign that the use of the prakṛits no longer met with approval? Sātavāhana, a convert to Sanskrit, learns it with the help of Āṣṭadhyāyī's grammar. It is not to be wondered at if with that victory of Sanskrit grammar has been associated the name of the Kātantra, the new grammar—easy and short, *abhinavam laghu*, says the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (VII. 14). That grammar has enjoyed a great fame, it has replaced older grammars and is even to-day much used in Eastern Bengal and in Cashmere. All that, however, does not necessarily determine any real chronological relations between the *Kātantra* and Hala, nor between the *Kātantra* and Guṇāḍhya. Yet, everything is not perhaps fanciful in this connexion. The *Kātantra* is very old; it looks as if it were an offspring of the *Indravākyākarṇa* which was the grammar of the Northern Buddhists; older, maintain the Tibetans, relying on the opinion of Tārānātha, than Panini's grammar. The fragment of grammar which we read in a manuscript of the seventh century found in Chinese Turkestan and which Mr. Sieg identifies with the *Indravākyākarṇa*, presents here and there a wonderful concordance with the *Kātantra*.¹ It is in no wise rash to place the school which produced the *Kātantra* as far back as at least the probable period of Hala. Whether the Sātavāhana for whom Āṣṭadhyāyī composed the *Kātantra*—and this is a tradition well established even outside the *Brhatkathā*²—is the same as the supposed protector of Guṇāḍhya is another question. In the present state of complete entanglement of the legends it is difficult to say to which Sātavāhana was attributed first the confusion of the expression *modaka*. The only thing that is certain is that when the legend of Guṇāḍhya started his patron was saddled with it.

The identity of the name of the king has favoured the invention of the history of the bet. The only object of that story seems to have been to excuse Guṇāḍhya for having used a prakṛit which the last episode of the legend shows to have been considered very vulgar. We must believe that at

¹ Cf. Sieg, Bruchstück einer S.—Grammatik aus Sängim Agüz, Chinesisch—Turkistan [Sitzungsber. der K. P. Ak. der Wiss., Phil.—hist. Cl. (May 16, 1907), pp. 466-91].

² Buhler Det. Report, p. 74,—Hiouen-Tsang relates that the *Kātantra* was composed for 'a King of the South'—Tārānātha (Schiefner, p. 73 sq.) relates that it was composed for Udayana (!) by Saptavarman (!); he attributes the part of Guṇāḍhya to Vararuci, but he keeps from the old tradition this detail that the king (Udayana!) was a king of the South and that Vararuci was a subject of Cāntivāhana, who was also reigning in the South.

the period when the legend was formed the use of the Paigāci was no longer considered natural.

As for Guṇāḍhya and Hala having been contemporaries nothing forces us to admit it. No doubt, it is not impossible *a priori* that Guṇāḍhya may have been in the service of Hala-Sātavāhana. Still the internal characteristics of the legend would lead us to believe him to have been anterior. It would rather make us date from the period bearing the name of Hala an increase, or if you like a return to favour, of Sanskrit connected, justly or not, with the appearance of the Kātantra of Āṣṭavarmān. The fact is that Sanskrit itself in its evolution towards the *prākṛits*, as it is seen by the language of the Divyāvadāna, greatly needed to be brought back to its purity by the help of a new grammatical school.¹

The abundant production of the *prākṛit* literature in former times, attested by the Hala-Saptaçataka, which seems to be an anthology, begins to slacken considerably. The *prākṛit* theatre, which had been, as many strong reasons lead us to believe, very abundant and supplied already with a didactic² literature is going to disappear, or will survive only under a Sanskrit form. In the sixth and seventh centuries, the *Kavyādarçā* of Daṇḍin³ limits pretty strongly the use of *prākṛits* (chapter 1). Though the facts, as Daṇḍin shows, partly contradict the theory, the doctrine of the use of the languages according to the various literary manners and, in the theatre, according to the personages, is fixed then and Sanskrit is assigned an eminent place. If it then be reasonable to date the history of the legend of Guṇāḍhya from a period when the *prākṛits* were reduced to a *portion congrue* it is as rash to date the *Bṛhatkathā* from the very time when the *prākṛits* began to meet with diminished favour. This is why I am inclined to believe Guṇāḍhya anterior rather than posterior to Hala. In any case it seems to me that it is impossible to assign to him a date later than the end of the third century. I do not concur with the opinion of Bühler who dates him from the second century or even from the middle of the first century,⁴ but I have no objection to place him in the middle of the third century.⁵

I see another proof of my opinion in the certain antiquity of the legend. It must have started sometime after Guṇāḍhya, and, on the other hand, it cannot be very posterior to the period of Hala; (of course, it is well understood that we should not take seriously its attribution to Sātavāhana himself). It seems to have existed at the time of Daṇḍin, that is, about three

¹ Cf. S. Levi, Les elements de formation du Divyāvadāna (T'oung Pao VIII, 1907), pp. 120-22.

² S. Levi, Th. Ind., pp. 329-30.

³ Everything seems to point out the sixth century as Daṇḍin's period. Daṇḍin (cf. L. D. Barnett, JRAS, 1905, p. 841).

⁴ Det. Report, p. 47.

⁵ M. Speyer places Guṇāḍhya somewhere in the fifth century; but as he bases his opinion on the *Kathāsaritsāgara*, I am not prepared to follow him on the ground of discussion he has chosen.

centuries after Hala. He says so in the *Kavyādarṣa*: 'a *kathā* may also be written in any language even in Sanskrit; it is said that the *Bṛhatkathā*, the subject matter of which is very fanciful¹ was written in the language of the demons.' From this passage, interesting in many ways, I note here only one fact: not only the *Bṛhatkathā* but the legend of Guṇāḍhya is anterior to Daṇḍin. Let us lay aside the too subtle argument which one might base on the use of the perfect *prāhur*, which ought to be understood of a past of which Daṇḍin was not a witness (he is very particular in the use of the past tense)²; *aha*, in common use, has also the value of the present tense. Still it remains that the formula used by Daṇḍin implies a chronological succession which is as follows: Guṇāḍhya uses the *Paṇḍaci* in the *Bṛhatkathā*; a name is given to that language, 'It is called the language of the demons.' (*Paṇḍaci*)—on account of the strangeness of that name Daṇḍin selects the *Bṛhatkathā* as an instance to prove that a *kathā* can be written in any language whatever. From the fact that Daṇḍin is the oldest author who mentions the *Bṛhatkathā* Weber³ seems to conclude that Guṇāḍhya belongs to the sixth century; but one can see that the word used by Daṇḍin well understood, not only does not bear out that opinion, but proves the contrary as Durgaprasad and Kaśinath Pandurang Parab have remarked in the preface to their edition of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*.⁴ To me it seems to prove something more still. Daṇḍin does not say *paṇḍacabhāṣa*, but *bhūtabhāṣa*; he has a pun in his mind, *bhūtabhāṣa* . . . *adbhūtārtham*. I would say that by making the *Paṇḍaci* literally the language of the demons he was thinking also of the demons from whom Guṇāḍhya had learnt it in the forest and that he would not have used that expression had that legend been unknown to him.

That part of the legend concerning Vararuci will not detain us long though it is rather lengthy. It takes us into the midst of an altogether fanciful chronology. Vararuci or Kātyāyana, the author of the *Vārttikas*, supposed to have been a minister of king Nanda, the father of Chandragupta, is made there the contemporary at the same time of Vyāḍi, of Pāṇini and of Guṇāḍhya, as also of the political sage Cāpakya! No discussion of all those impossibilities is, of course, needed. The story of Vararuci forms a whole altogether distinct from the story of Guṇāḍhya; it may be interesting in itself, but it has nothing to do with the *Bṛhatkathā*. The only question it gives rise to is whether it was added to the legend of Guṇāḍhya at the very beginning and why it has been associated with it.

If the story of Vararuci was invented at the same time as that of Guṇāḍhya and meant to form a whole with it, it would probably bring the two personages into contact, whereas in the legend they are never associated; they do not even know each other; the only link between them is Kāṇabhūti

¹ Kathāpi sarvabhāṣābhīṣ samskr̥tena ca badhyate / bhūtabhāṣāmayīm prahur adbhūtārtham Bṛhatkathām // (*Kavyādarṣa* I. 88).

² Speyer, S. Syntax, 330.

³ Ak. Vorl., 2e ed., p. 229 n.

⁴ Preface, p. 1 n.

the piṣāca. I am thus inclined to believe that the terrestrial story of Vararuci has a different origin from that of Guṇāḍhya. It is easy, it is true, to understand that at a certain period one may have thought of associating them together. The name of Vararuci or Kātyāyana is as famous in the history of Prākṛit grammar as in the history of Sanskrit grammar: a Vararuci, is the author of the *Prākṛitaprakāśa*. Whether there is only one Vararuci, which I believe to be the fact, or whether there are two¹ has very little importance for the question in hand as the confusion between the two Vararuci-Katyayana is in any event very old.² The name Vararuci had every claim to be put together with those of Ṣarvavarman, the grammarian, and of Guṇāḍhya who, if he was not a grammarian, was at least the famous godfather of a literary *prākṛit*. In coupling together the two legends a cycle of tales was obtained which associated the most famous grammarians; it was a kind of glorification of the heroes of grammar, well calculated to gratify *savants* with a pedantic turn of mind. But in order to make a whole of those two parts a cunning contrivance was needed. The difficulty has been met, as far as their life on earth was concerned, in placing Vararuci in contact with Kāṇabhūti, who already has a place in Guṇāḍhya's legend. As regards heaven it has been more simple; the person of Guṇāḍhya has been divided into two. Here the contrivance is very clear. It is strange, indeed, that the gaṇa who overhears Siva's story should not be the same who must repeat it to men. It is more strange still that Puṣpadanta Vararuci, who after all is the real culprit, should receive a punishment of less duration than Mālyavat-Guṇāḍhya whose only crime is to have pitied his friend; the tribulations of Puṣpadanta end when he had finished relating the *Brhatkathā* to Kāṇabhūti; those of Mālyavat have not come to their end yet; that is certainly not justice. In the last place Vararuci is born at Ujjayini just the place much more likely to have been the birthplace of Guṇāḍhya.

From all this I come to the conclusion that the legend in the form reproduced by Kṣemendra, Somadeva and Jayaratha is purely a Cashmerian work; in the original form Vararuci did not appear; only one gaṇa was cursed, and it was the future Guṇāḍhya. It must have been in that state that the legend was current in India. Jagaddhara one of the commentators of the *Vāṣavadattā*, tells us:—*Guṇāḍhyah . . . tena kila bhagavato Bhavānīpater mukhakamalād upacrutya Brhatkathā nibaddhēti vārtta*.³ He clearly attributes the indiscretion to Guṇāḍhya. After having lost his bet with his rival Guṇāḍhya found in the woods Kāṇabhūti or some other personage, foreseen in the formula of the curse, and such a meeting would give him back the memory of his past existence, and then he wrote the *Brhatkathā*.

¹ A history of the question with reference with the authors who are for or against is to be found in R. Pischel, *Gram. der Prakrit-Sprachen*, Pa. 32.

² Pischel, L.c.

³ Hall, *Vas.*, Intr., p. 24.

THE NEPALESE LEGEND

That reconstruction based solely on the critical examination of the legend as we have it in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* will be confirmed in a singular manner by the Nepalese¹ legend.

It begins like the Cashmerian legend with a conversation between Pārvati and Siva. The goddess asks the god for a story that has not been told before and while Siva relates it, all the doors being closed, the gaṇa Bhṛṅgin, under the form of a bee enters through the key-hole, overhears Siva's tale and repeats it to his wife Vijayā. Some other day Pārvati starts relating the tale to her maids, but Vijayā knows it already. 'Who is guilty of that indiscretion?' Siva, through the intensity of his meditation, discovers the culprit, sends for and curses him. Bhṛṅgin asks the god to have pity; the god complies and forgives him under the following conditions: he must become a man, learned, virtuous and skilful; he must write down in 900,000 verses, full of poetical feeling, the story he had overheard; he must erect a *linga* in a place difficult of access; and then, and then only, will he be delivered from human condition and allowed to reascend to Kailāsa.

In this preamble we find again the notion of the originality of the *Brhatkathā* and besides, a precise detail on the nature of that poem; it is to be a love poem, the purpose of which is to produce a dramatic feeling; it must be *rasasamanvitah*. Let us remember the relation between the *Brhatkathā* and also the passage of the *Avaloka* which gives the passion of its heroes as a type of *sthāyī bhāva*.² But one can see that the Nepalese version differs from the other in two particulars; the gaṇa who is cursed is called Bhṛṅgin and there is only one. The attribution of the name Bhṛṅgin to the future Guṇāḍhya may be of Indian origin; the name of the cursed gaṇa was not always the same and indeed it matters little! It might also be a Nepalese peculiarity. The mahātmya having for one of its objects to justify the holiness of places of pilgrimage and to people them with famous heroes does not mind altering the legends to adapt them to its ends.³ One *linga* is called Bhṛṅgiçvara, Bhṛṅgin is one of the followers of Siva⁴; the only thing to be done was to give that name to the fallen deity Guṇāḍhya to make the author of the *Brhatkathā* a Nepalese saint. As for the omission of the gaṇa who in the Cashmerian version has become Vararuci, I can attribute it only to the sources the author of the *Mahātmya* has drawn upon.

Bhṛṅgin is born at Mathura under the name of Guṇāḍhya. Having become an orphan he sets out for Ujjayini where King Madana, the consort of the

¹ Nepala-mahātmya, XXVII-XXIX.—Of. the text is in the Appendix.

² Cf. *supra*, p. 17. ³ S. Levi, *The Nepal*, I. 203-4. ⁴ Hemacandra, *Abhidh.*—cint, 210,

learned Līlavatī, daughter of the king of Gauḍa is ruling. The pandit Ṣarvavarman, who is in the king's service, appreciates the talents of Guṇāḍhya and obtains for him a place of pundit at the court. Then comes the story of the king's mistake on the word *modaka*. Guṇāḍhya asks for twelve years to teach him grammar, Ṣarvavarman only two. There is a bet as in the other version of the legend. Ṣarvavarman wins it, thanks to the revelation of the grammar Kalāpa (Kātantra). Guṇāḍhya is condemned to silence; he goes to live as an ascetic in a hermitage. The ascetic Pulastya passing by, advises him to write his tales in the Paiṣāci language; he will afterwards go to Nepal, erect a *linga* in honour of Siva and thus obtain deliverance from the curse which has made him a man. Guṇāḍhya writes his poem with minerals on the leaves of trees; as he composes he recites the verses aloud; the wild animals surround him to listen to him and they forget to eat; the game served at the royal table is so lean that the king complains; the cooks blame the hunters; these in exploring the woods meet Guṇāḍhya surrounded by the attentive animals; they themselves, falling under the spell, remain to listen. There is no longer any game for the king's dinner; enraged, he goes to see what has become of the hunters, sees Guṇāḍhya and presses him to come again to court; Guṇāḍhya refuses, 'Sire, I have composed 900,000 delightful verses in Paiṣāci, you must have them written in Sanskrit, as for myself I will go to Nepal.' He goes to Nepal, sees the Paṣupatiṣvara, then setting forth for the temple of Paṣupati he performs around the valley the *pradaksina* which the Nepalamahātmya describes at great length; it is the guide book of the modern pilgrim. Having returned to the temple, Guṇāḍhya gathers all the munis who live in Nepal; establishes the Bhṛngiṣvara and in an aerial chariot (*vimāna*) reascends to the Kailāsa to resume his place among the Ganas. Even at the present day, under the form of a bee, Bhṛngin returns at each phase of the moon to have a look at his *linga*.

It is easy to see what the author of the *Mahātmya* or his Nepalese predecessors have added to the legend; a few words in the formula of forgiveness pronounced by Siva, a few words in the advice of Pulastya and behold Guṇāḍhya is transformed into an adoptive Nepalese. The remainder must be due to Indian sources. The modification, if any, must be of very little importance. When a legend passes from hand to hand it becomes rather more complicated than more simple in the details. This is just what has befallen the Cashmerian version, which has incorporated into itself the history of Vararuci. In Nepal, the legend, reduced to its simplest expression, must be nearer the primitive version. If the Nepalese compilers have allowed anything to be lost it must have been only what they did no longer understand or what interested them least.

The discussions about the use of the *prākṛits* must have remained foreign to them. When Indian culture penetrated into Nepal it must have imported, as the official and literary language, Sanskrit and not the *prākṛits*. It is then

natural that the part played by the Paiçāci in the legend of Guṇāḍhya should have remained in Nepal obscure and hardly worthy of notice because it was ill-understood. The compiler has no idea of the peculiarities of the Paiçāci. For want of Sanskrit, Pulastya advises the use of the Paiçāci, but he gives no reason. It does not seem to be for Guṇāḍhya a new language which he ought to learn. The piçācas having disappeared, Kāṇabhūti himself has made room for Pulastya whose dignity as Śrī renders him more worthy to appear in the legend of a saint. The use of the Paiçāci must have appeared hardly an interesting peculiarity in Nepal because very probably the *Brhatkathā* had never been read there in the *prākṛit* original. That seems to me the conclusion to draw from the strange advice Guṇāḍhya gives the king : 'Have my verses translated into Sanskrit !' For the compiler, the *Brhatkathā* had been known only in that language.

As for the name of the king I attach no importance to it ; as far as I know it is not historical. If the Nepalese compilers no longer understood the grammatical interest of the legend, it was of no importance to them that the king's name recalled the most brilliant period of the *prākṛit* literature. I admit then that they are not reliable on that point. On the other hand, I am disposed to attach great importance to the name of the cities, Mathura, where Guṇāḍhya is born, Ujjayini, where he lives. Clearly, the Nepalese legend makes Guṇāḍhya a man from the north which is in perfect accordance with the internal characteristics of the *Brhatkathā*. It is possible that here we have a remnant of an authentic tradition. The Cashmerian legend itself has it that the *Brhatkathā* was composed far from Pratiṣṭhāna, in the forests of the Vindhya. Thus, both versions agree to locate the place where it was written, on a line passing from Ujjayini to Kauçāmbi. This is the only positive information we can learn from it.

C

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE LEGEND

We have now a good chance to form a pretty correct idea of what the legend was at the beginning. Guṇāḍhya condemned, as a consequence of a lost bet, never more to make use of a literary language, retires into some wild country and learns the language spoken there ; that is the reason why his work was written in Paiçāci. The subject matter of the *Brhatkathā*, fanciful and new, is the history of the Genii. Guṇāḍhya could know it only because, in an anterior existence, he had been one of them. His very fall was due to the indiscretion which allowed him to hear the tale uttered by divine lips. It is possible also that at the beginning the legend had placed Guṇāḍhya in relation with Hala-Sātavāhana, and that it contained some mention of the grammarian Çarvavarman and of the Piçāca.

It was written, very probably, to be a part of a collection of pious Sivaite stories, a kind of Mahātmya or a collection like that of Jayaratha's. Kṣēmen-dra commences as follows :—

'It is in this way that, in the *Purāṇas*, where all knowledge is exposed, and also in the *revealed books* so full of useful information, this story¹ is related.' It is those collections, more still than the *Brhatkathā*, which have enabled the legend of Guṇāḍhya to be carried as far as the limits of the Hindu world. We have seen already that it was known in Cambodia in the ninth century (LIX B, 26, the allusion is very clear); the inscriptions of the Thnal Baray are of Sivaite inspiration, and it is as a saint of Sivaism that Guṇāḍhya had a place in the Nepala-mahātmya.

It remains now to ask of what materials the legend was formed.

Some details seem to have an historical basis: the information about that part of the country where Guṇāḍhya wrote and also perhaps the lowliness of his birth. To say, as the Cashmerian legend has it, that Guṇāḍhya was born of the secret marriage of a Brahmin girl, who was herself a fallen Vidyadhari, and of a divine being is to confess that his birth was not regular; he would not belong to the Brahman caste but for the celestial voice of his father who warns his uncles to consider him as a Brahman.² He remains an orphan and is poor. His travels also must have been real. If the tales of the *Ālokasamgraha* belong to him, even to some extent, it is clear that he saw many of the countries of India. I am particularly struck with the fact that he is made to sojourn in South India; and, on the other hand, the *Ālokasamgraha* contains on the town of Mathura of the Pandyas details of a lively local colouring and descriptions of the sea coast of that region, summary, it is true, but at the same time of great geographical,³ exactitude. Lastly, the idea, that without an indiscretion, the *Brhatkathā* would not have been revealed to men must have originated with Guṇāḍhya himself. In accordance with literary custom he had to place the relation in the mouth of some personage introduced in his preamble. Let us suppose that the romancer writes on condition that his confidences will be heard only by those who have a right to hear them; this is a special detail on which the imagination of the legend makers has exercised itself and the sequence of our study will show us that this is not even a hypothesis (V. III^e part, Chap. III). They have argued with a strict logic that Guṇāḍhya confessed that the *Brhatkathā* can have been revealed only to privileged beings. Is he then one of them? No doubt, but a fallen one as he was a man. Why fallen? Precisely because he was over inquisitive. The *Brhatkathā* is full of stories of fallen Vidyādhara and Guṇāḍhya was soon assimilated to his favourite heroes. That theme has been enlarged upon with the elements already supplied by the *Brhatkathā* itself. With this nucleus of the tale has been

¹ B.K.M. I, I, 5.

² K.S.S., VI, 20.

³ B.K.C.S., XVIII.

amalgamated the story of the bet invented by the purists. Then the rival of Guṇādhya has been identified with Çarvavarman and both have been placed at the court of a king famous in *prākṛit* literature. The legend has been modified in Nepal in this sense that it has become rather vague in the particulars, because their interests were ill-understood, and because they have added what was necessary to 'Nepalise' the personages. In Cashmere it has added the history of Vararuci and so the beginning has been modified in consequence.

If it be true that it had its first germ in the very Introduction of the *Bṛhatkathā*, it was impossible that that Introduction, serving afterwards a double purpose, could remain the same at the beginning of the posterior redactions of the *Bṛhatkathā* which have incorporated the legend as has been done in Cashmere. We must thus presume that the Cashmerian versions have not preserved the first book of the *Bṛhatkathā*; but we shall have to ask ourselves whether the parts which have been saved have not received another place in the collection.

In fine, what has the legend given us? On the poet himself a chronological detail, uncertain to a great extent, and some biographical details which are likely enough; on the originality, on the subject matter, the literary character of the work and the country where it was written, serious information which will be corroborated as we go on in our study. It is on the use of the *Paiçāci* that it has given us most interesting views. We have purposely kept for the following chapter the study of the part played in it by the *Piçācas*.

CATTLE-BREEDING IN THE SALEM DISTRICT

By Mr. F. J. RICHARDS, I.C.S., M.A., M.R.A.S.

CATTLE-BREEDING is carried on in most villages, and also in the forests adjoining the Kaveri.

When a wealthy ryot is at the point of death, it is a common practice for his heirs to purchase a bull calf of good stock, and dedicate it to some god in the name of the dying man; or failing such benefactors, the villagers themselves purchase one by public subscription. Hence, most villagers possess a sacred bull which roams at large and is requisitioned whenever a cow is in season. Unfortunately village-bred cattle are as a rule inferior, partly because the ryots do not adequately feed the cows and calves, partly because they employ their cows for ploughing.

On the right bank of the Kaveri, about three miles above Hogenkal and opposite Biligundlu is the site of Ālambāḍi, once a flourishing town, the seat of a Polegar and afterwards the head-quarters of a taluk, now marked only by a ruined fort and a dilapidated temple. In the surrounding forests are to be found herds of from 80 to 150 head of cattle, each herd being usually in charge of three or more graziers. The herd may be the property of one man, or of two or three partners. The graziers are hired servants, and the owners visit the herds only occasionally, to see how they are getting on and to effect sales. Once a week or once a fortnight the graziers receive rations from their masters. If a grazier wishes to visit his home, he must send word to his master through the man who brings the weekly rations, and await arrival of a substitute. At night time the herds are confined in a temporary enclosure of shrubs and branches, arranged in two concentric rings. The inner ring is reserved for the calves, the outer ring is tenanted by cows, heifers of over one year and a breed bull. During night one of the graziers keeps watch on a small platform raised on four stakes about three to four feet above the ground; the other two lie down by the camp-fire. In the early morning the outer enclosure is opened and the cattle are let out. The outer enclosure is then cleaned, and the inner enclosure is opened, and all the calves which are to be fattened for the market, or whose dams yield milk sufficient only for their own offspring, are put to suck. Then such cows as yield enough and to

spare are milked ; milk is drawn but sparingly, and for the graziers' own consumption. The morning meal over, the herdsmen start for the grazing ground. One man grazes the calves near the pen. The others lead the grown beasts into the forest. The herd moves in file, and grazes on the way ; one herdsman goes in front, the other follows in the rear. After moving three or four miles, the herd halts and scatters and the herdsmen rest. At noon the herd is again called together and taken to some rivulet to drink. The cattle are never watered in the Kaveri itself, except in seasons of draught, for the water of that river is believed to emaciate the cattle that drink of it. After drinking, the herd continues to graze till 3 p.m. when it is led back to the spot where the pen is pitched, and the calves are again allowed to suckle. At sunset both the calves and cows re-enter the pen. There is no evening milking. Everyday the herd is taken in a different direction and never covers the same ground twice. At the end of ten days, the pen is shifted to a spot five or six miles away. Should the cattle sicken, the pen is at once moved without awaiting the lapse of the ten days. The cattle show no small intelligence. No rope or stick is needed to control them, the voice of the herdsmen is enough. Each individual beast has a name, and comes when called by it. Sometimes to relieve the monotony of forest life, two herds are penned within fifty yards or so of one another, the graziers in charge of the two herds fraternize, but their cattle never intermingle. The graziers equipment is simple ; a hollow bamboo for carrying his midday meal in, a little bag for the inevitable betel, areca-nut and chunam, a metal tube for his grazing permits, a stout stick to help him to pick his way through the jungle, head-cloth, loin-cloth, blanket, and a pair of sandals complete the outfit.

Grazing.—The poorer ryots usually entrust the pasturing of their flocks and herds to the juvenile members of their family. Middle-class ryots utilize the services of their farm servants. Larger owners engage professional herdsmen, who are paid in cash or in kind. The usual rate for an adult in the south is sixteen *vallams* of dry grain per mensem with a present of Rs. 2 or 3 per annum, or an annual wage of Rs. 24 to 36. In the north the purely cash wage is uncommon ; either free meals are provided, or one meal a day plus one and three quarters *kandagams* a year, or three and a half *kandagams* a year without meals ; in any case the herdsman receives some Rs. 6 per annum. On the Shevaroyes, the rate is three *kandagams* and from Rs. 3 to 10 annually. For grazing cattle in the jungles of Denknikota division, the rate is as high as seven *putties* of ragi and Rs. 8 in cash. Grazing is often entrusted to small boys of from six years of age and upwards, and to old men who are past more active work. Little boys are usually paid half rates, and their remuneration increases as they grow up. The contract lasts for one year, and the owner generally grants a loan of Rs. 10 or more at the outset, which has to be refunded should the servant for any reason change his employer in the course of the year. An annual gift of a cloth, sometimes

of two, is almost invariably part of the contract, and sometimes a pair of shoes is added.

In towns and large villages, where non-agricultural classes keep two or three cows or buffaloes for milking, the animals are usually driven out to pasture every morning by a professional herdsman and driven home again in the evening. The grazier takes charge of from twenty-five to seventy-five head of cattle in all from the subscribing households, and receives so much per head per mensem; the rate varies; in Salem it is four annas per cow and two annas per calf; in Uttankarai it is two annas for a cow and four annas for a buffalo; some cooked food is generally provided. Occasionally sheep are sent to graze on the same system of payment at one anna per head. No special fodder is grown for cattle, in Hosur taluk, where white *cholum* is sown among the grain. Milch cows and working bulls are always stall-fed; their ordinary diet consists of the straw of the usual food-grains, rice, ragi, cholum, kambu and varagu; for drink they are given the water used for cleaning rice and other refuse water, which is kept in the back-yard in a large earthen pot till it is half fermented, in which state it is considered specially wholesome. Bulls used for lifting water or for drawing carts are given a special diet of cotton seed, the husks of pulses or boiled horsegram. In the south bulls are worked in the fields till noon, and again for two or three hours before sunset, but never after 6 p.m.; they are then fed on straw.

Grazing Taxes.—Grazing was taxed in many ways before the district was ceded to the British, and some of these pastoral taxes survived till the collectorate of Mr. Longley. Apart from a caste-tax on Gollas, there were two methods of extracting revenue from grazing. Either (I) a tax was levied on the number of sheep or cattle, or (II) land was leased for grazing on favourable terms.

I. (1) *Tax on Horned Cattle.*—In the Talaghat taluks a tax was levied on horned cattle at rates varying from two to four annas a head, and was paid by persons who held no *pathat* lands, and by merchants on account of their cows, bullocks and buffaloes. In some villages even ryots who held *pathat* lands were charged with this tax if they kept buffaloes. Brahmins and Muhammadans were exempt.

(2) *Kurumbar Tax.*—A tax for grazing sheep and goats in waste lands and jungles at the rate of from three to six pies for every ten cattle was paid by Kurumbars in the Talaghat taluks.

(3) *Raya Pulvari.*—*Pulvari* or more correctly *pillu-vari* = grass tax. The right to collect a tax of eight annas for every 100 sheep grazed in the jungle pastures lying within a tract bounded on the east by Narasingapuram (near Attur), on the south by Mallur and Uttayampatti, on the west by Kaveri in the limits of Nangavalli, and on the north by Palakoḍu, was rented out to the highest bidder, who was always of a Golla caste.

(4) *Ālambāḍi Pulvari* was a tax on the privilege of bringing cattle

from the neighbouring taluks, and especially from Mysore, and grazing them in the Kaveri-side jungles round Ālambāḍi. The right to collect this tax was rented.

(5) *Bāl-taruḡu*.—A tax at the rate of Rs. 8-14-6 per 100 or annas 1 to 5 per head of horned cattle per annum, paid direct to Government by the ryots resident in the five *karais* of Pikkili, Netrampalaiyam, Anchetti, Atharanai and Malaihalli for grazing their cattle in the Ālambāḍi forests. Brahmins, Muḥammadans, Vedars, Shepherds in the jungles, Christians, *Karaga pujaris* and Totis were exempted from paying this tax, and it was not levied on ploughing-bullocks, stallion bulls or calves.

II. (1) *Faisal Pulvari* was a discretionary grass assessment fixed at the time of Paimash, without reference to the wet or dry rates of the village on lands then in the occupation of ryots for grazing purposes. If such lands were subsequently cultivated, the average rates of the dry and wet according to the crop grown were levied to Fasli 1240 and from that year onward the assessment of the adjoining lands. If after such cultivation the land was resigned, and then taken up again for pasture, one-third of the average assessment and not the original *faisal pulvari* was levied.

(2) *Trijai Pulvari*.—Assessed waste, if applied for for grazing purposes, was granted on *paṭṭa* at one-third of the assessment, and unassessed land could be taken up similarly at one-third of the average or adjoining rate. Such lands, if given for cultivation, were liable to full assessment, and, if another ryot offered to cultivate the land, the grass *paṭṭadar* must either relinquish it, or pay full assessment.

(3) *Patkat, Para* or *Parava Pulvari* was a fixed assessment entered at *Paimash* against the then holders of certain *patkat* lands at a rate based on the number of cattle at that time in their possession. The tax was paid by the ryot for the privilege of grazing his cattle on *porambok* or immemorial waste.

(4) *Hullu-kaval* was a reduced rental charged in the Balaghat for waste lands and scrub jungle leased out on *darkhast* for grazing. A single ryot could rent the whole waste in a village, the other ryots sub-renting small plots from him. This tax was abolished in Fasli 1254 (1844-5).

(5) *Chantai Pulvari*.—On the abolition of the *Hullu-kaval* in Fasli 1254, ryots in the Balaghat were permitted to take up waste lands for grass, to an extent not exceeding one-fourth of their *patkat* holding, and pay on such grass land one-fourth of the *faisal* assessment. At first it was held that the assessment of the lands taken up for grass should not exceed one-fourth of the assessment of such *patkat* lands when cultivated; the interpretation given in the text was adopted subsequently. The Baramahal was exempt from *pulvari*, though the accounts of assessments of some of the original *mittas* show the previous existence of a *Kuriterige*, or tax on sheep. All the above-named descriptions of *pulvari* were abolished in 1858, except *Faisal*, *Trija*

and *Chautāi*, which survived till the settlement of 1862 was actually introduced. These obsolete grazing taxes find their modern counterpart in the grazing fees levied by the Forest Department.

The practice in Hosur taluk was to assign lands on so-called 'grass *pattas*' at a favourable rate, on condition that lands so held should not be cultivated; if the lands were cultivated full assessment was chargeable. If the *darkast* for the assignment of such land for cultivation were put in by another ryot, the holder of the grass *patta* must either relinquish the land in favour of the *darkhastdar* or pay the full assessment. The practice still continues in the Bagalur Paliam and elsewhere, and there is a tacit understanding among ryots that *darkhasts* should not be put in for such lands. Hence large tracts of arable land were kept out of cultivation.

The ryot's views on his live stock are tersely expressed in a few homely proverbs. 'If the cattle return hungry, the home will starve.' 'A cow that does not thrive by grazing will thrive by grooming.' 'Judge a bull while it walks, and a sheep while it stands.' 'Beware of a long-tailed cow and short-tailed bull.' 'If the herd suffers, the ryot suffers.' 'One who has cotton plants and milch cows will not starve.' An Alambadi bull is 'beautiful', but useless for 'ploughing'.

NOTES AND EXTRACTS

TAXILA DISCOVERIES

Lecture at Simla

DR. J. D. MARSHALL, C.I.E., Director-General of Archæology in India, delivered a lecture on the archæological discoveries at Taxila at a meeting of the Punjab Historical Society.

The Honourable Sir Edward Maclagan, President of the Society, presided and among those present were the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, and Lady O'Dwyer, Sir Harcourt Butler, the Honourable Mr. L. C. Porter, C.S., the Honourable Major-General Birdwood, the Honourable Mr. Thompson, the Honourable Mr. Daljit Singh, Kunwar Maharaj Singh, and a large number of European ladies and gentlemen. The lecture was profusely illustrated by lantern slides. The President in introducing the lecturer said that the audience was going to listen to a lecture which the scientists of Europe might have been only too glad to listen to.

In the course of his remarks, Dr. Marshall said :—

The foundation of Taxila goes back to a very remote age, but of the epoch before Alexander the Great we know practically nothing beyond the fact that it was probably included in the Archæmenian empire of Persia, and that it enjoyed a great reputation as a university town—famous for the arts and sciences of the day. Alexander descended on the Punjab and received the submission of Taxila in 326 B.C. but four years later the Macedonian garrisons were driven out by Chandra Gupta, and Taxila then passed under the dominion of the Mauryan emperors, to whom it remained in subjection until the death of Asoka. Then, in 190 B.C., Demetrios, the son-in-law of Antiochos the Great, extended the Bactrian power over the north-west of the Punjab, and paved the way for the establishment of a line of Greek princes who were ruling at Taxila for the greater part of the second century before our era. After them came a dynasty of local Parthian kings—Maues, Azes, Azilises and others—who carry us down to about A.D. 75 and these, in turn, are succeeded by the Kushan emperors, among which the name Kanishka is the most celebrated. Thus, within four centuries Taxila became subject to five separate empires—the Macedonian, the Mauryan, the Bactrian, the Parthian and the Kushan, and from these widely different civilizations—

extending from Greece to Western China and from the steppes of Russia to the Bay of Bengal—she must have inherited much of the culture and of the arts peculiar to each. With the decline of the Kushan power and the rise of the imperial Guptas in the fourth century, the history of Taxila, so far as we are concerned, comes to an end. Her power and importance gradually waned and when the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tshang, visited the city in the seventh century, he found that the State had become a dependency of Kashmir and that the monuments of her former greatness were in ruins.

Such, in bare outline, was, I believe, the history of the city, but I should warn you that even the facts which I have given you and which personally I believe to be well established, are by no means accepted by all historians.

For example, the Kushan Emperor Kanishka is placed by some authorities in the middle of the first century before Christ, thus antedating the majority of the Parthian kings. Again, the rise and fall of the Parthian and Greek dynasties has been a subject of much controversy, and great doubt has existed as to which kings ruled over Taxila and which over other principalities. You will see, therefore, that there is ample scope at every turn for the spade to do its share in clearing up this early period of history, and no less scope, let me add, for it to throw light on the evolution of architecture and plastic arts in this part of India, about which our knowledge has been even more nebulous.

With these remarks, I will now introduce you to the remains of Taxila itself. They are situated about twenty miles to the north-west of Rawalpindi, in a particularly pleasant and well-watered valley, with the snow ranges of Kashmir to the north and east, and lower hills, including the Margalla range, completing the circle on the south and west. This position on the great trade route which used to connect Hindustan with Central and Western Asia, coupled with the strength of its natural defences, and a constant supply of water, sufficiently explain the growth of the city in early times. If you will look at the map before you, you will see that there are three chief settlements—the Bir mound to the south, Sir Kap in the middle, and Sir Sukh to the north, with clusters of smaller remains grouped around each. These three areas appear to represent three separate cities, built, like the several cities of Delhi, by successive dynasties or despots, the parallel between the two cities being the closer for the reason that in each case the new capitals were shifted further and further north. The three cities at Taxila with the remains round about them cover an area of a dozen square miles or more, and I need hardly tell you that the examination of such a vast site is likely to occupy a good many years. At present, I have been at work for less than three months and have made trial diggings at four places only—namely, at the Chir Tope, near the south-east corner of the site; in Sir Kap; at Jhandial, and on the Bir mound.

Round each of these spots Dr. Marshall conducted the audience. Dealing with the Chir Tope he pointed out that there were four clear and distinct types of building—first the rubble work of the Parthian period; secondly, the neat small diaper; thirdly, the coarse and massive diaper; and fourthly, the semi-ashlar, semi-diaper type.

Dr. Marshall next dealt with the city of Sir Kap, referring to many interesting finds and had little hesitation in saying that the city of Sir Kap was first founded during the Greek period and occupied by the Parthian kings and by Kozoulo-Kadphises. Afterwards, the capital seemed to have been transferred to Sir Sukh, where large numbers of coins of Kanishka were said to be turned up by the peasants; and the site of Sir Kap was then probably given up to monastic buildings. In the one trench which he dug through Sir Kap, he recovered more than six hundred coins, ranging from the time of Agathokles to that of Wema-Kadphises.

Speaking of Jhandial, Dr. Marshall described it as the remains of a very imposing temple, unlike anything hitherto known in India. It measures approximately 150 feet long by 80 feet wide, and so far as it has been excavated, it bears a general resemblance to a classical temple, the outer peristyle being replaced by a solid wall pierced with windows, and another chamber added inside the sanctum, perhaps in order to get over the difficulty of roofing so wide a space as fifty feet. The walls of this temple are built of diaper masonry of the second century A.D.—the mouldings at their base, which are quite classical in form, being executed in 'kankar,' and the whole covered with thick stucco. The columns and pilasters in front of the temple were of hard limestone, and of very massive proportions.

Lastly, turning to the Bir mound, Dr. Marshall said his excavations were very limited, being carried out mainly for the purpose of satisfying himself as to whether any remains existed in the compound of his bungalow, before he planted out a small garden there. He found that this part of the hill-top was covered with the remains of a building of rough rubble stone, of which the remnants of a few chambers only could be traced. In one of these chambers, however, he found a small treasure in the shape of 160 punch-marked coins of debased silver, a very fine gold coin of Diodotos struck in the name of Antiochos II of Syria, a gold bangle and several other pieces of gold or silver jewellery, besides a large number of pearls, amethysts, garnets, corals and other stones.

To sum up the results of these investigations, concluded Dr. Marshall:—First, we have settled, generally, the disposition of the site; have determined the ages of the several settlements in the city of Sir Kap; and have found that the settlements on the Bir mound are anterior to them.

Secondly, we have recovered a number of monuments of the Parthian and Kushan epochs and by fixing their relative dates have established a series of much needed landmarks in the history of architectural development.

The prevailing spirit of the Parthian architecture has been found to be Hellenistic—the Indian elements being subsidiary; and this architecture leaves no room for doubt that the Parthians played a prominent part in the diffusion of classical ideas in India—a fact which has an intimate bearing on the evolution of early Indian art.

Thirdly, by correlating other known buildings in the Punjab and Frontier Province with the series of monuments I have discovered at Taxila, it is now possible to determine within narrow limits the age of the former. For example, it is now apparent that the remains at Tareli belong to the close of the first century of our era, while the celebrated 'stupa' at Ali Masjid proves to be more modern by two hundred years than was previously supposed; and I have no doubt that the age of other famous structures, such as the tope of Manikyala and the monasteries of Jamalgarhi and Takht-i-Bahi can be fixed in the same way.

Fourthly, we have secured an abundance of sculptured images, which like the architectural remains furnish us with new and valuable data for the chronology of the plastic arts.

Fifthly, we have demonstrated that Buddhism was the prevailing religion at Taxila in the Parthian epoch; and consequently the generally accepted opinion that Kanishka was responsible for the hold which Buddhism took upon the north-west of India must be discarded.

Lastly, we have obtained clear, and to my mind conclusive, evidence both from our coins and from our buildings as to the sequence of the Greek, Parthian and Kushan dynasties, and we have found that there are no grounds for supposing either that Kanishka intervened in the first century before Christ, or that the Parthian Maues was reigning in the second century of our era.

Sir Michael O'Dwyer in proposing a vote of thanks to Dr. Marshall said that the Punjab was extremely fortunate in finding one who could interpret her glorious past. The savants of Europe would have been only too pleased to share the unique privilege of the audience in listening to accounts of epoch-making discoveries which were landmarks of ancient history. Sir Harcourt Butler in seconding, thanked the lecturer for the intellectual treat he had given. Sir Edward Maclagan said that from the wonderful discoveries of Dr. Marshall they could now pin down the elusive Kanishka.

* * *

CHRONOLOGY AND TAMIL LITERATURE

The Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikannu Pillay, Registrar of Co-operative Credit Societies, delivered a lecture on 'The Bearings of Chronology on Tamil Literature':—

Literature presents several aspects, each of which gives rise to a primary science and to secondary sciences, based on the primary science. One aspect of literature is that which yields intellectual pleasure to the reader or hearer,

and the primary science that deals with this aspect is criticism, which, in turn, is a branch of æsthetics. Similarly, the aspect of literature, on which, according to our grammarians, grammar and style are founded, gives rise to the science of rhetoric, which is developed into the general science of language, literature and expression. Thirdly, literature may be viewed as evidence of fact, which gives it value as history. On the histories of many nations is founded a secondary science, the philosophy of history. There are other aspects of literature, e.g. the religious aspects, but we need not discuss them now.

It has often been said that the history of India in times before what is called the Mahomedan period does not exist. What is meant is that there is no department of the Indian literature of those times, which is expressly called history, and which, if it existed, would be the analogue of Greek and Roman history. When such is the case, the whole of the literature is itself history, for it cannot be that any people can live for centuries, as the Hindu people have done, without having some record of their history.

I mean to show you how our Tamil literature may be made to reveal the history of the people. We have had in the recent past scholars among us like the late Mr. Sundram Pillay and late Mr. Kanagasabhai Pillay, who made brilliant efforts to explore the historical vein of Tamil literature, but it behoves us to continue their work in the light of such further light as archæology, epigraphy and chronology have since thrown on the subject. Because this work is not done by our own scholars there is a sad want of understanding among them as to the chronological results disclosed by a study of our ancient literature. One school holds, merely on the strength of tradition, that the beginnings of Tamil literature as we now possess it are to be traced to a period so remote that we cannot locate it in historic time; while another school, represented by the epigraphists as well as by European scholars like the late Dr. Pope, hold that our literature arose in the latter half of the first millenary of the Christian Era. It would be interesting to see what light is thrown on this difficult controversy by a systematic study of our literature in its historical aspect.

Some of our literature, though a very small portion of it, is of the nature of contemporaneous history, namely, history told by writers who lived at or near the time of the events referred to by them. Such testimony is very valuable, but, unfortunately, it is very difficult for us to connect the names occurring in such admittedly contemporaneous records, as 'Puranānūru,' with internal history, such as we are able to gather from inscriptions and archæological remains. Only one of the many kings referred to in 'Puranānūru' has so far been epigraphically identified, and that is the Pandya Muduḍkudimi Peruvaludi, who, according to the Madras Epigraphist's Report for 1907-8, could not have lived much earlier than the sixth century A.D.

A very important portion of our literature is based on tradition, and Indian traditions are unique in this respect, that they are very often strictly accurate, though they may not have been reduced to writing for several centuries. Especially is this the case with traditional dates, to which I shall refer later on.

The style of our early literature is an unexplored region, so far as its historical aspect is concerned. We know how much we are indebted to the study of style for our knowledge of the evolution of Shakespeare's plays, and a similar method may be fruitful of historical results, if applied to our early literature.

There are occasional bits of history, landmarks as it were in the journey of a nation through historic time, which are to be met with here and there in our literature. These landmarks require careful study but let me add a warning that one is apt to be misled by similarity of names, a frequent danger in Indian literature. I have come across a characteristic instance in the allusion to *Gajabāhus* occurring in the Tamil 'Śilappadhikāram.' Since there are only two *Gajabāhus* in the Ceylonese Chronicle, the 'Mahawamsa' one of the second century A.D., and the other of the twelfth century A.D., it has been argued by competent scholars that 'Śilappadhikāram' and with it 'Maṇimekhalai,' and 'Tiruvalluvar Kural' and 'Nāḷāḍiyar' and the third Śāṅgam of Madura all belong to the first or second century A.D., an idea which is the basic foundation of Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai's 'The Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago.' Dr. Pope was of a different opinion, and if Dr. Fleet (*vide* the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for October, 1912) is right in his contention that the week day was introduced into India from Europe in the fifth century A.D., then 'Śilappadhikāram,' which contains a distinct reference to Friday (namely, Friday, the day of *kṛittikā nakshatra* and *bahula aṣṭami* in the month of Āḍi) must be referred to a period later than the beginning of the fifth century. Unfortunately for he advocates of the 'first century' theory, there is a *Gajabāhu* of the eighth century A.D., not recognized, it is true, by the 'Mahawamsa' but referred to in a Tamil *Sthalapurāṇam* as an *alias* for one of the Ceylonese *Sri Sāṅga Bo's* of the eighth century A.D. (*vide* 'Abhidhana Chintamani' published by the Madura Śāṅgam, s.v. *Gajabāhu*).

The last item of historical evidence occurring in our literature is actual chronology in the form of dates. As this is a subject which I have studied in some detail, I shall offer you some observations on the dates, contained in our literature. I shall present the observations in the form of three propositions with a corrective to each.

The first proposition is that the Indian theory of chronology is perfect in construction and presents this unique feature that a date containing five elements, viz. (1) *vara*, (2) *thithi*, (3) *nakshatra*, (4) solar month and (5) day of solar month, is capable of being located exactly in time although no year in a

known era may accompany the date. One does not come across many such dates in literature however. The one which, I think, is of the greatest interest for early Tamil literature, though unfortunately it did not engage the attention of Messrs. Kanakasabhai Pillay and Sundaram Pillay, is that cited in Adiyarkunallar's commentary on the 'Nāḍukāṅkāthai' of 'Śīlapadhikāram', namely, 'Monday, 28 *Vaikasi*, *sukla trayodasi*, *Nakshatra Anuradha*.' I have found that this date, coupled with another indication furnished in the same passage, namely, Sunday, Chittirai 1, Nakshatra Svāt can be referred to only one year since 1 A.D., namely, the year A.D. 756. I am aware that this date will not satisfy most of our Tamil scholars, but it agrees with Dr. Pope's recorded views, based on other circumstances, as also with the opinion expressed by the Madras Epigraphist in his Annual Report for 1907-8, where he refers the third Madura Sangam to the middle of the eighth century A.D. while the existence of a *Gajabahu* at that epoch, referred to above, goes to confirm the same view. The corrective to the first proposition is that while our calendar system was perfect in theory, the citations of dates occurring in literature as well as in inscriptions are very often, say in fifty per cent of the cases, wrong in one or more subjects. Where one of five, or even four, elements is wrong, the error may be capable of detection and rectification, but sometimes only three elements are given and one of them happens to be hopelessly wrong. I have not been able to account for the existence of so many errors side by side with a theoretically perfect system of chronology, except on the supposition that, owing to the intrinsic difficulties of the system, the practice of checking citations of dates was unknown, and in the absence of check, errors crept in.

The second proposition is that traditional dates cited in literature are sometimes, and most unexpectedly, correct; showing that such dates must have been handed down by genuine oral tradition, and not reduced to writing for centuries. Our system of dates is, fortunately, not tied to figures which easily slip from the memory, but may be expressed almost wholly in words. Thus *Khara samvat-Aippasi masam, Mula nakshatra* is a complete and specific date (= Thursday, the 5th November, A.D. 1891) in the present cycle of 60 years; and if the weekday be added, the date is not only complete but is capable of exact verification. This circumstance made it possible for dates to be carried in the memory for several centuries by means of oral tradition. The best instance I know of under the head of traditional dates is the date of Buddha's death or *Nirvana*. Seven dates with weekdays are cited in the Life of Gautama, translated by Bishop Bigandet and published in Trübner's Series. It may be presumed that these dates were reduced to their present form at a period considerably later than the fifth century A.D. when, according to Dr. Fleet, the weekday was introduced into India, but I have found by actual calculation that all these weekday dates agree only with one date for the *Nirvana*, viz. *Vaiśākha pūrṇima* in 478 B.C. and are

not reconcilable on any other hypotheses as to the date of Buddha's death. This date for the *Nirvana* was found by Cunningham on quite independent evidence so far back as 1872, and it is one of the two dates admitted as the only possible ones by Dr. Fleet, who himself, prefers the alternative 483 B.C., *Kārttika Sukla*. The weekday (Tuesday) could not have been part of the original tradition regarding the date of the *Nirvana*, but it is evident that when the weekday was fixed somewhere in the fifth century A.D. or later, it was fixed with reference to the true day of Buddha's death. The corrective to the second proposition is that, side by side with true traditional dates, we find in Tamil literature a large number of dates retrospectively calculated which are very often wrong. I am afraid this is the case with the date of the first Āḷwars, who are traditionally supposed to have been born either at the end of the Dvāparayuga, or at the beginning of the Kaliyuga. I did not, of course, expect to find the dates correct for the assumed years, but I did expect that there might be later years in, say, the seventh, eighth or ninth century A.D. for which the elements of the dates might be found true. In this expectation I have so far been disappointed, and I am obliged to infer that some of the elements in each of the dates have become hopelessly corrupt on account of the absence of check already alluded to. I believe the dates of the later Āḷwars can be verified by means of chronology.

The third proposition is that the dates commonly found in Tamil inscriptions, as well as in Tamil literature, are generally of the class of recurring dates, namely, they may be expected to recur once in seven, ten, seventeen or twenty-seven years. However, such a date may be very useful when it occurs in conjunction with other dates of the same kind. For instance the date cited above from 'Śilappadhikāram,' 'Āḍi, bahula 8, *Kṛittika Nakshatra*, Friday' would ordinarily recur about once in a decade, or once in twenty years, but it is significant that it tallies exactly with the other date in the same work which I have called unique, viz. the 28th day of *Vaikasi*, Monday, *Sukla trayodasi*, day of Anuradha. In other words, both dates occur in the year A.D. 756 in the exact order described by the poet; and the one date may be held to confirm the other.

The corrective to the third proposition is that, we cannot expect to find dates with even three elements in very early literature, i.e. about the first or second century A.D. because the usual mode of citing dates at that remote period was different from the present practice, and that mode does not lend itself to exact verification. The circumstance that Tamil literature (so far as I have been able to obtain information regarding it from competent scholars) does not present dates of the early kind, seems to show that the literature as we possess it is of later date.

I would like to have said something more about weekday citations, but I have already detained you a long while, and while thanking you for the

attention you have given me, I hope we shall meet again to discuss this and other unexplored features of our ancient chronology.—*Madras Mail*.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

PHILOSOPHIC THOUGHTS

Mr. V. Nagalingayya Devara, Sub-Registrar of Pakala, is the author of a volume of 'Philosophic thoughts revealed through *Prāṇāyāmam* and higher concentration.' The book deals with problems of a peculiarly mystic character, dealing as they do with highly metaphysical questions. *Prāṇāyāmam*, which is an ancient Hindu practice of controlling respiration, is credited with giving its practitioner extraordinary and subtle powers with the aid of which, it is said, many questions can be solved. The author explains in the work under notice how in his own personal experience he has gained by the practice which he describes for the benefit of those who will follow his methods. The book, which is published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co. and priced at As. 12, offers an interesting study to those for whom metaphysics and mystic lore have a fascination.

* * *

'BHAKTHAMĀLA'

Srimathi T. Ammalamma, the accomplished writer of Malayalam books and a well known authoress, has published an enlarged edition of her *Bhakthamāla*, a book dealing with the inspiring life of many a historic character and mythological saint and devotee of ancient and modern India. The book in its first edition achieved quite a unique success for its simplicity of style and for its literary charm. Mr. P. G. Rama Iyer, District Munsiff, himself no mean Malayalam scholar and author, writes a preface giving a critical estimate of the literary merits of the writings of the authoress and commends her present work as eminently calculated to influence for the better the religious and devotional life of the masses. Though the work is a translation of a well-known Sanskrit original widely read in the north, she has invested it with a freshness and originality of treatment all her own which have given it the stamp of an original Malayalam composition. Altogether the work gives the life-story of over 150 devotees. The book is printed in the Bharatha Vilasa Press at Trichur and priced at Rs. 1-10-0.

* * *

THE 'BHAGAVAT GITA'

No Sanskrit scholar of any repute was accorded a place amongst those in the first rank unless he wrote a commentary on the *Bhagavat Gita*, 'The Song Celestial,' which is one of the Prasthanathriyas or 'the Literary Trinity' in the sacred literature of the Hindus. The result is that of

commentaries on the *Gita* there are scores varying, of course, in merit. The three great ones are those by the founders of the three schools of Vedanta Philosophy and the rest follow one or other of these three recognized authorities while bearing a stamp of their own individuality. The Sri Vani Vilas Press, of Srirangam, has recently published another excellent commentary which has not hitherto been available except in manuscripts confined to only a small circle of scholars. The author of this commentary is one Venkatanātha, of whose life, however, not much that is definite is known. A perusal of the commentary shows the author's undoubted learning and his critical scholarship. He is an independent critic who is not afraid of differing from great authorities, some of whom have been guilty of text torturing, to read their own theories into the texts. His interpretations appear direct and to the point while following the Advita school. Mr. T. K. Balasubramania Iyer, the editor, gives an interesting account of the great pains he has been at to get the manuscripts of this work of exceeding rarity.

* * *

‘VEDANTA DESIKA’

An interesting work on the life and literary writings of *Vedanta Desika*, by M. K. Tatacharya, B.A., has recently been published by T. S. Ramaswami Aiyangar, Kuppam, printed at the Ananda Press, Madras. *Vedanta Desika* appeared in South India about 600 years ago and his teachings held sway over the minds of the Hindus of Southern India. Even to the present day, in fact, he has been deified among the Hindus. The idea is to introduce the Guru to the English-speaking public, and no doubt the book will accomplish the object with which it was written. Its cost is but ten annas. The book gives an insight into Indian lore and bears the stamp of much concentrated effort on the part of the author, while, to judge from the list of his works, the Guru must have been a most prolific writer of poetry and prose.

* * *

‘THE SOUL OF INDIA’

A Study of the Hindu Religion in its historical setting and its internal and historical relations to Christianity. By George Howells, M.A. (Cantab.) Ph.D. (Tubingen), Principal of Serampore College (London: James Clarke & Co.).

The invention of titles for books about India seems to be a matter of some difficulty. Perhaps that is why Dr. Howells has hit upon a title which is singularly inappropriate. It suggests a work in the Pierre Loti vein of subjective impressionism. Actually this book is a compendium of facts. It covers the whole field and necessarily covers some parts of it very scantily. - But allowing for the limitations inseparable from an attempt to describe India in all its multiformity in a single octavo volume, Dr. Howells’

book is a very laudable effort and we do not doubt that it will prove of great value to the growing number of people who require information about India in a compassable form. The work contains the substance of the Angus lectures delivered at Regent's Park College, London, in 1909-10. It is therefore written from the missionary standpoint for the benefit, primarily, of missionary students. As might be expected, the work deals very fully within its limits, with the religious and philosophical aspects of India. But it embraces a surprising range of subjects, and the book might well serve as a handy work of reference on the geography, the languages, the races, and the ancient and modern history of India. Dr. Howells tells us that in his own student days he was bewildered by the attempt to unravel for himself the maze of Indian religion. 'Light dawned only after I had devoted considerable time to a study of the land and the people, the evolution of their civilization, in its social, literary, political and religious bearings. I am quite sure that I should have found my path a very much easier one if there had been available such an introduction to the subject as the present work seeks to supply.' This modest claim may be generally endorsed. In some respects, the author shows a lack of the sense of proportion; in places details are too lengthily and discursively treated, while elsewhere there is a tendency to sketchiness. But, on the whole, the book is a very acceptable introduction to the study of India and its civilization. It is supplied with a good map, an index, and a helpful synopsis, while the bibliographies attached to each chapter are a useful addition.

* * *

'THE CROWN OF HINDUISM'

By J. N. Farquhar (Oxford University Press)

This is an exposition of Hinduism written from the standpoint of the Christian missionary. Mr. Farquhar is Literary Secretary for the Young Men's Christian Associations of India and Ceylon. He is well known in Calcutta, especially amongst the student classes of that city; and he is also known to a wider circle as a conscientious student of the Hindu religion and its institutions. The present work is, we believe, the most considerable effort that he has yet put forward. It is the result of wide and careful study of the literature of the subject, and the serious and scholarly character of the work will be generally acknowledged, however much views may differ as to its leading motive. That motive is, of course, a missionary one. The title of the book implies that Christianity is the necessary complement of all that is true and good in Hinduism. As the author puts it, the Crown of Hinduism is Christ. This thesis may appear novel and startling to people who are not familiar with the modern atmosphere and spirit of Christian missions. But the idea that it is the purpose of God 'to gather together in one all things in Christ' has come to the front again of late years in

Christian thought, after being obscured for many centuries. The belief that all non-Christian systems were of the Devil persisted for hundreds of years after the middle ages, of which it was an authentic product. It has a hold even to-day amongst the supporters of Christian missions, but amongst the majority of missionaries themselves it is no longer an effectual motive. The modern missionary has quietly shelved many of the ideas and methods of his nineteenth century predecessors. He has learnt the wisdom of St. Paul, who was 'not a blasphemer of the goddess' of the Ephesians, and who tried to persuade the Athenians that the Christian God was the one whom they worshipped in ignorance. We once heard a sermon by a preacher of a very militant type who made much of the fact that St. Paul's 'results' in Athens were almost negligible, whereas he registered scores of conversions in the cities where his preaching provoked public disorder. However that may be, the modern missionary has elected to follow St. Paul's Athenian method, and Mr. Farquhar's book is a notable instance of this new spirit in Christian propaganda.

The plan of the book consists in an analysis, historical and critical, of the principal elements of Hinduism. The subject of priesthood and sacrifice has been omitted, for a reason which is significant of the author's spirit of sound scholarship. It is a subject which still awaits complete research, and, as Mr. Farquhar was unable to undertake that 'serious piece of exploration' for himself, he has left it on one side, in preference to giving the reader the results of the partial treatment of the matter which already exists. But with regard to the social institutions, the religious practices and the philosophical ideas of Hinduism, the author writes with much fullness of knowledge, and he presents his facts with a lucidity which does not always characterize works on Hinduism for English readers. The opening chapter on the Indo-Aryan Faith is an admirable piece of exposition, clear, sympathetic and marked by true historical imagination. Other chapters—such as that on the Hindu Family—display a thorough knowledge of the subject, together with an acquaintance with the results of research in anthropology and comparative religion. The author keeps touch with actuality by constantly comparing the beliefs of Hinduism with its present day practice, and by frequent quotations of incidents and opinions from the Indian Press. On the question of social reform he is sympathetic, but sceptical.

The tragic element, he writes, lies here, that the changes which the reformers demand are absolutely indispensable for the regeneration of India, and yet they cannot be carried out without abandoning the religious foundation of the Hindu family. The reformers have not realized what they were doing. It is probably the very word 'reform' that has misled them. They have all along imagined that they were recalling the original form of the Hindu family, while, as a matter of fact, what they have been seeking to

reach is an altogether new structure. They are right in stating that the reforms are absolutely essential; their opponents are right in saying that these new proposals are alien and hostile to the Hindu family.

Mr. Farquhar's contention in short is that the social reformers want to put new wine into old wine skins. It is difficult to reconcile this with his main thesis that Christianity is the complement rather than the supplanter of Hinduism, especially in view of the fact that the family is the centre round which the whole Hindu system revolves. But he is doubtless quite right in the view that the attempts of the advanced minority to impose reforms from without upon an unwilling majority promise little permanent success. That Mr. Farquhar's desire to sympathize with Hinduism is genuine is proved by his remarkable statement of the rationale of idolatry. We do not remember to have encountered anywhere such an able apology of idolatry. It is far more convincing than the half-hearted defence offered by Mrs. Besant and a few educated Hindus; and it will certainly be used for all that it is worth by Hindus in controversy with Christian missionaries. As might be expected, he goes on to condemn idolatry in practice as 'the chief source of the limitless mass of superstitions under which the Hindu people live enslaved.' But this will be discreetly ignored by the protagonists of Hindu orthodoxy. The book as a whole, is an admirable piece of work and is remarkable as a sign of the new spirit animating the Christian propagandist in India. But as an attempt to prove that 'the Crown of Hinduism is Christ' in the direct sense adopted by the author, many will find it to be less than convincing.—*Madras Mail*.

MONEY-LENDING

To

THE EDITOR,

The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society,

Bangalore.

SIR,

May I suggest that the various methods of money-lending practised in South India would afford a useful and interesting field for enquiry. Is any member of the Mythic Society willing to investigate the subject, and communicate the results to the pages of your *Journal*?

The Sowkar is a very important factor in Indian economy, both agricultural and industrial. He looms large in the history of Haider Ali and Tippu Sultan, and in the early years of the British Settlements in Calcutta and Madras. Usury is an institution of the highest antiquity in India, and is intimately interwoven with the history and sociology of her peoples. Banking is a fine art, and it is the hereditary profession of caste-guilds, such as the Nattukottai Chettis, the Komati Vaisyas, the Beri and Nagarattu Chettis, the Banias of Marwar, the Saits of Cutch, or the Labbais of Vaniyambadi and other South Indian towns.

Little is known of the genesis of these money-lending guilds, of how or when they became differentiated from the rest of the community, on what lines they have evolved their present methods of business, or what those methods are. Why is it that the Nattukottai Chettis deal with cash only, while the Komatis combine money-lending with trade in grain? What is the origin of the *Hundi* system? Over what area have the Muhammadans known as *āru-māsa-kāḍan-kārars* ('six months creditors') extended their operations, and with what classes do they deal? On what terms is grain or money advanced on the security of land or crops, on jewels or clothing, or on no security at all? What is the procedure of the capitalist weaver, who holds many weaving communities in the hollow of his hand?

The variety of methods, in fact, seems infinite. In some parts, for instance, a favourite method of investing money is to lend it on a usufructuary mortgage of agricultural land, a device which exempts the capitalist from the

claims of income-tax. Interest is taken both on loans of cash and loans of grain. In the latter case the capitalist who advances grain receives as much as one-and-a-half times the quantity advanced when the crop is harvested. The usual method in petty cash transactions is known as the kanthu system. Under this system interest is deducted before the loan is advanced, and the borrower binds himself to repay the loan in monthly instalments. Thus if A borrows Rs 100 from B? B advances Rs 90 and A has to repay the full Rs 100 in monthly instalments of Rs 10. The poorer classes hardly expect to repay the money they borrow, and a Sowkar can, in the case of small amounts, afford to dispense with securities, for though the capital will never be paid off, the interest will cover the capital several times over in the course of two or three decades.

Surely the investigation I suggest would be of historical interest, as well as of practical value. Sporadic information, no doubt, exists on the subject, but I am unaware of any concise summary of the facts.

OXFORD,
November 26, 1913.

Yours truly,
F. J. RICHARDS.

THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

RULES

1. The Society shall be called the MYTHIC SOCIETY.
2. The Society was formed with the object of encouraging the study of the Sciences of Ethnology, History and Religions, and stimulating research in these and allied subjects.
3. Membership shall be open to all European and Indian gentlemen, who may be elected by the Committee.
4. The Society shall be managed by a Committee consisting of the President, three Vice-Presidents, the Honorary Treasurer, two Joint Honorary Secretaries, three Branch Secretaries, the Editor, and five other members, retiring annually but eligible for re-election.
Any four of the above members to form a quorum.

5. The subscription shall be—

- (a) For members resident in Bangalore, rupees five per annum.
- (b) For members resident elsewhere in India, rupees three per annum. These subscriptions are payable on election, or annually, on or before July 1st. The Honorary Treasurer may recover any subscription which may remain unrecovered at the time the second number of the Journal is issued by sending the second number by V.P.P.

Membership is open to residents in the United Kingdom, the subscriptions being four shillings annually, a remittance of twelve shillings covering subscriptions for three years. Subscriptions from the United Kingdom may be remitted by 'British Postal Order' to the Honorary Treasurer, Mythic Society, Bangalore.

Bona fide students resident in Bangalore will be admitted as members without the right of voting on payment of rupees three per annum.

Ladies may become subscribers on payment of rupees three per annum.

6. The transactions of the Society shall be incorporated and published in a Quarterly Journal which will be sent *free* to all members, and which will be on sale at 12 annas per copy to non-members.

7. There will be nine Ordinary Meetings in each Session, at which lectures will be delivered; due notice being given by the Secretaries.

8. Excursions to places of historical interest will be arranged and intimation thereof given to members.

9. Members may obtain, on application to the Secretaries, invitation cards for the admission of their friends to the lectures.

10. The Annual General Meetings will be held in July.

11. Framing and alteration of Rules rest entirely with the Committee.

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, }
REV. F. GOODWILL, } *Joint Secretaries.*

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THE MAHĀVAMŚA AND SOUTH
INDIAN HISTORY

BY MR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR, M.A., M.B.A.S.

I

THE publication of a corrected text of this Pāli work and a revised translation by Professor Geiger mark an important step in the direction of the investigation into the historical value of this chronicle so far as it bears on the history of South India. That Professor Hultzsch should have carried on this investigation some way in the pages of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society* for July of last year indicates the attention that this question is likely to receive, though the learned Professor confines himself to the period of South Indian history covered by lithic records in the publication of which he has done the best work so far for this part of the country. There is, however, another part of that history which requires as much investigation, nay even more, as it remains comparatively unexplored. Notwithstanding the translations already available the facilities for the study of this question did not exist for pursuing definite lines of enquiry till now. Professor Geiger's translation and the researches of Dr. Fleet and a few others make the study possible.

Professor Geiger's translation carries the work just to the point at which light from inscriptions becomes available. It is particularly of this part and

of its historical value, that there has been the greatest divergence of opinion. A careful and scholarly investigation into this period was wanted and has now become possible. Before we proceed to set forth the information available, a brief résumé of the results of Professor Geiger's study will be of value to those who may not be able to make the study for themselves: the more so, as some important questions bearing on the literature and history of the Tamils depend upon the historical value of these chronicles of Ceylon.

Leaving aside the literary questions connected with the Mahāvamsā for the time, the sources from which the Chronicle drew its material can be traced by means of the Vamsaṭṭappakāśini, a native commentary on the Chronicle by an unknown author. Dr. Fleet's researches leave little doubt as to the Mahāvamsā being a 'dīpika' or commentary on the Dīpavamsā; and this would warrant the inference that the Mahāvamsā of the ancients in the introduction is no other than the Dīpavamsā itself. At the time of the composition of the earlier of these, the Dīpavamsā, at the close of the fourth century A.D., there existed in Ceylon a sort of chronicle embodying the history of the island from its legendary beginnings onwards. This old chronicle constituted part of the Aṭṭakathā, i.e. the old Commentary-literature on the canonical writings of the Buddhists which Buddhaghōṣa took as a basis for his illuminating works. It was like the Aṭṭakathā, composed in old Sinhalese prose, probably mingled with verse in the Pāli language.

This Aṭṭakathā-Mahāvamsā existed, as did the Aṭṭakathā itself generally, in various recensions in different monasteries of the island. The divergences among these recensions were slight. That at the Mahāvihāra monastery at Anurādhapura was of particular importance as it is from this recension that the author of the Mahāvamsā Ṭīka drew for his material.

The Chronicle must originally have come down only to the arrival of Mahinda in Ceylon, but was continued later in all probability down to the reign of Mahāsena (beginning of the fourth century A.D.) with whose reign both the Mahāvamsā and the Dīpavamsā come to an end.

The Dīpavamsā presents the first clumsy redaction in Pāli verse. The Mahāvamsā, on the contrary, is a new treatment of the same material distinguished by greater skill in the use of the Pāli language, by more artistic composition, and by a more liberal use of the material contained in the original work. The author of this is known by the name Mahānāman.

Buddhaghōṣa bases his historical introduction to the Samantapāsādhika on the Dīpavamsā, but he completes and amplifies the information therein available, by recourse to the only other source, the Aṭṭakathā itself.

The Mahāvamsā Ṭīka brings to the contents of the Dīpavamsā and the Mahāvamsā further additions from the same original source. This last was not composed till the period A. D. 1000 to 1250. This Ṭīka leaves no doubt

that the author had the *Aṭṭakathā* before him and also supposes it to be known to his readers and accessible to all.

Thus it is clear that all these works had, practically, the same source of information and were composed at different periods by different authors in the following order: *Dīpavamsā* (fourth century) *Samantapāsādikā* (fifth century), *Mahāvamsā* (sixth century) and the *Ṭīkā* (in the eleventh or twelfth century).

In regard to the trustworthiness of these chronicles Professor Geiger is pitted against R. O. Franke, Kern, and V. A. Smith. H. C. Norman to a qualified extent, and Rhys Davids are in support. The Professor follows Windisch in regard to the interpretation of the Buddhistic tradition, and would not have us pour away the child with the bath, but would begin by removing the mythical additions. But we need by no means take the residue as current coin. Here we are concerned to examine how far the tradition is established as trustworthy, by internal or external evidence, and how far shaken as being untrustworthy.

If we pause first at internal evidence then the Ceylonese Chronicles will assuredly at once win approval in that they at least wished to write the truth. Certainly the writers could not go beyond the ideas determined by their age and their social position and beheld the events of a past time in the mirror of a one-sided tradition. But they certainly did not intend to deceive their hearers or readers. This is clear from the remarkably objective standpoint from which they judge even the mortal foes of the Aryan race. That certainly deserves to be emphasized. It is true not only of dominating personalities (such as, to all appearance, *Elāra* was), but also of the two usurpers *Sena* and *Guṭṭika* of whom it is said: (*Dīp* 18.47 and *Mah* 21.11) *rajjam dhammena kārayum* (ruled the kingdom with justice).

'Besides, the obvious endeavour to make out a systematic chronology is such as to inspire confidence at the outset. Indeed whole sections of the *Dīpavamsā* consist entirely of synchronistic connexions of the ecclesiastical tradition with profane history and of the history of India with that of Ceylon.' This, in the Professor's own words, is his opinion of the historical value of the Chronicles from internal evidence.

More important is the external testimony which supports the Ceylon tradition. In regard to the list of Indian kings the Ceylon tradition finds support in Brahman tradition concerning those before Asoka. *Bimbisāra* and *Ajātasatru* are contemporaries of Buddha according to the canonical tradition, and Brahman traditions agree in regard to the two names; the *Nandas*, *Chandragupta*, and *Bindusāra* are undoubted historical personages and in regard to them the traditions agree closely. *Chandragupta's* Brahman counsellor *Chāṇakya* is known to the Chronicles. It is only in regard to the length of the reigns of *Bindusāra* and *Asoka* that there is slight difference. In so far as this period of Indian history is concerned the Ceylon tradition

finds support in the Hindu Purāṇas though Jain tradition does not agree quite so well.

The *Dīpavamsā*, the *Mahāvamsā* and the tradition of the country itself are unanimous that the conversion of Ceylon was the work of two of Asoka's children, his son Mahinda and his daughter Sangamitta. The fact of the conversion of the island does not find mention in the two Rock Edicts of Asoka which mention the island, namely, Edict XIII which includes the island among those to which Asoka despatched missionaries and in Edict II among those in which he provides for the distribution of medicines. These are of the thirteenth year of his reign, while the conversion of the island is put down to the eighteenth year in the Ceylonese tradition. Such an omission casts a doubt upon the authenticity of the tradition which, according to V. A. Smith, is heightened by the suspicious look of the name Sangamitta.

There is nothing unusual about the canonical name superseding the lay, and this seems even to have been the fashion in later inscriptional times, as the name of the several queens, nay, even those of the Chola rulers would go to prove. There is nothing to warrant our expectation that Asoka should mention these names in any of his edicts. The two already referred to are earlier than the date of conversion of the island and the only other where we can expect such reference is according to Fleet of date 256 A.B. twenty years later than the event which makes the reason for mention not sufficiently compelling. In any case we are on too uncertain ground to draw definite conclusions from this omission.

The mention of Ceylon in the earlier edicts, if the name Tambapanni is to be taken as referring to the island and not the coast opposite, can only warrant the inference that before Mahinda relations existed between continental India and Ceylon, and that efforts were made to transplant Buddhist doctrine to Ceylon. This inference finds support in the *Mahāvamsā* and the *Dīpavamsā* which relate that 'Asoka, sending to Devānāmpiyatissa presents for his second consecration as king, exhorted him to adhere to the doctrine of the Buddha.'

The history of the missions as related in these chronicles finds confirmation in important particulars in the inscriptions in the Bhilsa Topes. There is architectural evidence of an unimpeachable character in the same monuments regarding the transplantation of the branch of the sacred Bodhi-tree from Uruvela to Ceylon.

There is thus a very strong body of evidence to support the assumption that the chronicles do attempt to give what their authors accepted as a true narration of events mixed up, of course, with all that their pious fancies depicted as the necessary accompaniments of the successful adoption of the true doctrine. If so much is warranted in regard to the events narrated, the next important enquiry would naturally be the value of the chronology of the *Chronicles*.

II

The objective confirmation of the chronicles detailed already proves at least that the statements made in the chronicle are not altogether untenable and are worthy of being tested. They are not to be accepted as infallible, and the longer the interval between the time of the events and that of the narration the greater is the possibility of error and the more will the influence of legend be noticeable.

This general position applies with particular force for the oldest period extending from the landing of Vijaya to the accession of the sixth in succession from him, Devānāpiyatissa. The first fact that casts suspicion is that the date of Vijaya's arrival is said to have been the date of the Buddha's death. All the reigns are given a round number of years for their duration; and there is a positive impossibility in regard to the reigns of the last two: Pāṇḍukābhaya and Muṭasiva. The former ascended the throne at thirty-seven and had a reign of seventy years. This would give him 107 years of life. His successor was born of a marriage before he ascended the throne, and must have been past the prime of manhood when the father died. Yet his successor is credited with the long reign of sixty years. The only explanation possible for this is that the chronology was made to fit a scheme for making the arrival of Vijaya coincide with the Nirvāṇa of the Buddha which coincidence somehow got to be believed in at the time. There would then be an error of about seventy or eighty years. This error need not invalidate the tradition, however, as the account of Pāṇḍukābhaya's campaigns gives one a decisive impression of trustworthiness. Even for the period following there are clear evidences of gaps filled up in this manner, as for instance, the reigns of the following six rulers, of whom four are sons of the last with two usurpers between, occupy a span of ninety-two years. When we come to the reign of Duṭṭagāmaṇi, the chronology becomes credible, the numbers appear less artificial and more trustworthy. Even in the period of doubtful chronology the reign of Devānāpiyatissa and the arrival of Mahinda stand out clear from the wavering traditions of the times before and after.

The starting point of the chronological tradition recorded in the monkish chronicles of Ceylon is the year of the Buddha's death. For this tradition events and historical characters are of importance only in so far as they were of importance for the development of the Buddhist community. There are isolated occurrences and personalities connected, even in early times, with a certain date which announced the time that had passed since the Buddha's death. There would naturally be gaps between, and fictions would be made filling up and completing the tradition. This was probably the manner in which the chronological system of Ceylon was built up, taken over in all probability from the Aṭṭakathā.

One of the fixed dates established at a specially early period which forms

the corner stone of the whole system is the number 218 for the coronation of Asoka. This event is said to have taken place four years after the actual succession of Asoka and this would bring this last event to 214 years after the Nirvāṇa. Subtracting from this twenty-eight years for Bindusara the father, and twenty-four for Chandragupta the grandfather of Asoka, Chandragupta's accession would have taken place 162 years after the Nirvāṇa. His accession is now generally ascribed to the year 321 B.C. The year of the Nirvāṇa would thus be $321 + 162$ or 483 B.C. Admitting the hypothetical character of the two dates, it must still be said that the year 218 for the coronation of Asoka is one which deserves to be the least suspected, as there is nothing impossible or even improbable in regard to the preservation of a definite tradition over the comparatively short period of time. In regard to the date of Chandragupta's accession a little shifting backward or forward may be necessary but the error is likely to be just a few years. In regard to the duration of the two reigns, the twenty-four years for Chandragupta may be taken as quite certain as in this particular the northern and southern traditions are in agreement, while the difference of three years may have to be allowed one way or the other for his son. Nevertheless there seems to be a tendency to unanimity in regard to the much disputed date of the Buddha's death as stated above.

It is needless to discuss here all the alternative dates offered for the same event except that of the chronology current in Ceylon, Burma and Siam, namely, the year 544 B. C., for the Nirvāṇa. That this date is wrong and contains an error of about sixty years is now generally admitted. Nor is it based on a continuous tradition as has already been pointed out by Fleet. It is a relatively late fabrication and has to be referred to the eleventh century A. D. As a matter of fact indications are to be found that, in earlier times, and indeed, down to the beginning of the eleventh century A. D. an era persisted even in Ceylon which was reckoned from 483 B. C. as the year of the Buddha's death. From the middle of the eleventh century the new era took its rise being reckoned from the year 544 B. C., and is still in use.

In discussing this question King Parākramabāhu and his predecessors up to Udaya III 1507 A. B. will have to be dated. That Parākramabāhu was crowned when 1696 years had elapsed after the Buddha's death (i. e. in the year 1697 A. B.) is derivable from inscriptions, confirmed and completed by literary data. Eight years later (i. e. in the year 1705 A. B.) a second coronation apparently took place. In the fourth year afterwards when 1708 years had gone by since the Nirvāṇa (that is in the year 1709 A. B.) he held a Buddhist Synod. According to the Ceylonese era these are the years A. D. 1153, 1161, 1165. This period for Parākrama is supported by an entirely independent source, namely, a South Indian inscription at the temple of Tiruvāliśvara at Ārpākkam. Thus for the second half of the twelfth century A. D., the existence of the Ceylon era beginning from 544 B. C. is established with certainty.

According to the *Cūlavamśa*, the six predecessors of Parākramabāhu from Parākrama Pāṇḍu (121 in Wijesimha's list) reigned 107 years. The accession of the last named prince will thus fall in 1590 A. B. or according to the Ceylon era A. D. 1046. This date is confirmed by the South Indian Maṇimangalam inscription of the same date, according to which Parākrama Pāṇḍu was conquered and killed in this year by the Chola King Rājadhirāja I. The reign of two years given to him in the *Cūlavamśa* may be explained by the possibility of the reign having been counted from one Indian year in which he began to reign and the next in which he met his death, both falling within the one year A. D. 1046. This would prove that the Ceylon era existed in the middle of the eleventh century A. D.

Passing on to Udaya III (111 in Wijesimha's list), there is a South Indian inscription which fixes for him a date which throws quite a new light on the whole reckoning of eras. According to the *Cūlavamśa* the interval between the accession of Udaya and that of Parākrama Pāṇḍu is ninety-three years and eight days. We have seen above that the latter ascended the throne in 1590 A. B. or A. D. 1046. We have consequently for the accession of Udaya III the date 1497 A. B. or A. D. 953. But according to a Tanjore inscription of Rajendra Choladeva, Udaya's accession must be dated about the year A. D. 1015.

This inscription gives an account of a military expedition to Ceylon and corresponds as to its details with one which, according to the *Cūlavamśa* (53·40 foll), occurred under Udaya at the beginning of his reign. According to Kielhorn's calculations the Chola's accession must have taken place between the end of 1011 and the middle of 1012. The expedition falls between the fourth and sixth year of the reign, i.e. between A. D. 1015 and 1018. The years 1497 and 1498 A. B. must fall within this period. Taking the first years in each case, we get the date for the death of the Buddha the year 483 B. C. (1497-1015 or 482 years complete; hence 483 B. C.)

So with Wikramasinghe we must state the matter thus. The author of that part of the *Cūlavamśa* which deals with the kings from Udaya III to Parākramabāhu I lived at a time when the present era, reckoned from 544 B. C. was in use. He was acquainted with three well-established dates, 1497, 1590, 1693 A. B. for the accession of Udaya III, Parākrama Pāṇḍu and Parākramabāhu I. But he did not know that the first of the three dates was based on quite a different era, reckoned from 483 B. C. The interval between Udaya III and Parākrama Pāṇḍu amounted, in his view, to ninety-three years but was in reality only thirty-one years (A. D. 1046-1051).

Considering the detail in which the events of this period are described in the *Cūlavamśa* it is difficult to decide at what particular point the excess of sixty-two years should be struck out. The principal part of the excess Professor Geiger would strike out of the reign of Mahinda V and the interregnum that followed (115 and 116 of Wijesimha's list) both together taking a period of forty-eight years.

Thus then, it is clear that all parts of the Ceylon Chronicle are not necessarily unreliable, nor is the chronology even of the earlier portions so faulty as to make the rejection of the chronicles imperative from the point of view of history. Professor Geiger's other interesting disquisitions are indeed valuable in themselves, but are not material to the question of any South Indian synchronisms that may be discussed in the following pages.

III

Having examined as a preliminary study, the historical value of the Chronicle, it becomes necessary to consider in what manner the Chronicle comes into touch with South Indian history and tradition. While for Ceylon it is the Chronicle that supplies the information it has for South India to be Tamil literature, as inscriptions of a date before that of King Mahāsena (A.D. 325-352) are very rare indeed in this part of the country. The evidence of literature may not be so precise, nor perhaps of the same value, as that of the inscriptions. None the less they are of value and the more so where they are the only available evidence. Their value cannot be precisely appraised on the whole but in each instance it may be capable of being ascertained, if sufficient care be taken.

The first reference in the Chronicle that calls for attention is the name Nāgadīpa given to a part of the Island of Ceylon. The Island as a whole is said to have been inhabited by the people called Nagas. There is further on page 6 of Professor Geiger's translation reference to the jewelled throne about which two Nagas, uncle and nephew, went to war. At the intercession of the Buddha they composed their quarrel and made a joint present of it to the Buddha himself. This is the account of the Buddha throne of miraculous power referred to in the Maṇimēkhala (Canto VIII, 1155-63) almost in the same terms.

The next reference which finds mention in both the Chronicle and the Kāvya is the Buddha footprint on Adam's Peak. According to the former the Buddha having accepted the hospitality of Maṇiyakkika, ruler of Kalyāṇi (in the South-West of the Island), left his footprints on Samantakūṭa. These footprints and their miraculous efficacy are both detailed in Canto 11, ll. 20-25 of the work above adverted to. (Geiger trans., p. 8.)

The next for which so far no actual reference on this side of the sea is available, is the statement that Vijaya and his companions who settled on the island found spouses in Madura. As a result of a mission in this behalf one thousand families of the eighteen guilds, landed at Mahātiṭṭa (Mantotta) opposite the Isle of Mannar (Geiger p. 59), along with the young ladies and their retinue. Future research must show how far this is actually true. One other small reference is that to the public square where streets intersect called Nāgacatukkam. The latter half of the compound is a formation

which has its analogue in the Bhūtatatukkam at Puhār at the mouth of the Kavery. (Maṇimēkhala Cantos 1, 8, 20 and 22.)

The Maṇimēkhala gives an account of an almsbowl of miraculous power that provided an inexhaustible supply of food to all suffering from hunger. This belonged to a Brahman to whom Chintādevi (Sarasvati or Goddess of Learning) gave it to relieve people of hunger when famine prevailed. When the need was over and there was no more occasion for any active use of it he placed it in a pond of water at Maṇipallava Island in the neighbourhood of Ceylon. This used to appear above the surface of the water once a year on the anniversary of the Buddha's birth. On one of these anniversaries it came to the hands of Maṇimēkhalā as there was good occasion for the use of it. There is so far no reason to connect this with the almsbowl of the Buddha which was got from Asoka full of relics at the instance of Mahinda by Sumana. This latter after the use of the relics was placed in the palace by Devānāmpiyatissa and worshipped there.

So far the incidents referred to are of a traditional character. Except for a certain similarity of the tradition in regard to these particulars which may warrant the inference either of affiliation of the traditions to each other or of their being traceable to a common source these cannot be regarded as of any definite historical value. The next one is of a different character and may turn out to be of higher historical value, if not in its actual details, at least in its general features. This brings us in point of time to 187 B. C. according to the scheme of chronology adopted by Geiger.

It was in this year that Suratissa, one of the younger brothers of Tissa, succeeded to the throne of Lanka or Ceylon. The Chronicle has it that he was known as Suvarṇapīṇḍatissa before his accession. Whether this has any connexion with the Prince in the Maṇimēkhalā who is said, on account of his meritorious works, to have been born of a cow in the shape of a golden egg it would be too much to say with the evidence available. It was in his reign that the first Tamil usurpation is recorded in the Chronicle. Two Tamils sons of a freighter who brought horses for sale, conquered the king and ruled justly for twenty-two years. After a restoration of the old dynasty for another decade came the more important usurpation by the Tamil Eḷāra.

Eḷāra is described as of noble descent who came from the Chola country to seize the kingdom, over-powered the ruler Aśela and ruled for forty-four years with even justice towards friend and foe, on occasions of dispute at law. The king had a bell hung up at the head of his bed which could be rung by those who desired a judgment at law. The king's only son killed a calf by accidentally running his car over it. The cow came and rang the bell of justice and the king had his son decapitated in the same manner as the calf was. Professor Hultzsch points out the similarity between this and the Śaiva miracle recorded in the *Periyapurāṇam* in regard to the Chola

Manu at Tiruvārur as also the undoubted allusion to it in the *Śilappadhikāram*.

The story of Manu Chola may be traceable to a common source with the Ceylon Chronicle, but neither of them give any clue to the actual source. The reference in the *Śilappadhikāram* makes the point more clear. This work couples this incident with another of a similar character and ascribes both of them, as it appears from the manner of the reference, to the same king. The other incident is the well-known story of the king who gave an equal weight of his flesh to save a dove from a hunter. This is one of the Jātaka stories and it occurs in the Brahman Purāṇas in connexion with Śibi, the Emperor. This last is an old Chola according to the Chola genealogies of a later period.

The next act of justice on the part of Eḷāra, the tearing up of a snake to take out the young of a bird may be passed over, but the one that follows is of importance. He was not a Buddhist according to the Chronicle but when he had damaged a Stupa unwittingly by striking against it in the course of a drive he offered to pay the penalty by saying, 'Sever my head also (from the trunk) by the wheel'. This has a curious resemblance to a story in regard to a Pāṇḍyan king who cut off his right hand for having rudely knocked at the door and caused disturbance to a loving pair in bed.

The third incident in this line is the complaint brought before the king by an old woman whose paddy, spread out to dry in the sun, was damaged by untimely rain. He fasted to bring Indra, the god of rain, to a sense of his duty and got him to order seasonal rain. This is quite similar except for local and artistic details in the story to that of Ugra Pāṇḍyan who compelled Indra by force of his arm to send rain into the Pāṇḍya country, and thus relieve the country from famine.

Though none of the details agree, as details, the same exaggerated idea of justice is ascribed as the principal characteristic of the great Chola Karikāla. The bell of justice seems quite a common feature. The Pāṇḍyan who died of a broken heart for failure of justice in the *Śilappadhikāram* is described as having had this adjunct for judging. This is what again is referred to in a verse which the thirteenth century Oṭṭakkūttan composed in honour of his disciple Kulōttunga II. These differences of detail notwithstanding, there is the fact that Eḷāra was a Tamil of noble descent who came from the Chola country. Can he be identified with Karikāla or one of his ancestors? He might have been one of the predecessors of Karikāla, but no direct identification is possible on the strength of the Chronicle under reference.

The next item that brings the Chronicle into contact with India, this time as a whole, is the assemblage of priests from all parts of the country on the occasion of the consecration of the Great Thupa. The following places contributed the contingents of Bikshus. Rajagāha, Īśipātana (Benares), Jētavana, Ghoṣītarma (Kośāmbi), Dakṣiṇagiri (Ujjeni), Asokārma (Puppā-

pura), Kasmira, Pallavabhogga, Alasanda (the city of the Yonas), Vindhyan Forests Road, Bodhimanda (near Buddhagaya), Vanavāsa and the Kelāsavihāra the situation of which is not described. Of these places there is one South Indian place for certain and that is Vanavāsa (Banavase in South Kanara). The other is perhaps the Pallavabhogga. Although it would be hazardous to argue from the order of these places and draw inferences as to their geographical location, Pallavabhogga seems placed in the narrative somewhere about the north-west with the Alexandria of the Yavanas. The only certain inference possible is that the Pallavas were not as yet in the part of the peninsula where later we are accustomed to look for them both from literature and from inscriptions. In other words the Pallava kingdom of Kanchi had not yet been formed according to the Mahāvamśa.

This is a point of considerable importance to Tamil literary history as the same conclusion is inferable from a study of the Tamil classics alone.

The next point of contact is the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi 44-17 B.C. with an interregnum from 44-29 B.C. Immediately after his accession to the throne, he had to meet two dangers that threatened his very existence. The one was an invasion of Ceylon by the Tamils and the other a rebellion by the Brahman Tissa in Rohāṇa. He got rid of the Brahman by setting him to fight the Tamil invaders, but he found the invaders too strong for him. Having been defeated he became a fugitive and lived in hiding for fourteen years in the family of a subject of his through the good offices of a Bikshu. While escaping with his two queens and two sons, he found it necessary to abandon the junior Somalā with his royal crown and the almsbowl of the Buddha. He gave the first to Somalā and hid the bowl in the Vessagiri forest. Of the seven Tamils who invaded Ceylon this time one took Somā with the crown for his share and returned. The other appropriated the almsbowl and followed. The remaining five reigned for fourteen years and seven months. The first of these five was named Pulahatta. Is this Ārya Pirahattan whom Kapilar addresses in Kurinjippaṭṭu? He was slain by his commander of troops Bahiya who in turn was overthrown by his General Paṇayamāra. This last was slain by his Commander of forces Piḷayamāra who in turn was overthrown by Daṭṭhika who was finally killed by Vaṭṭagāmaṇi. The capture of the queen Somā, the carrying away of the almsbowl and the names Paṇayamāra and Piḷayamāra may find references in Tamil literature. These last names sound rather like Paḷayan Māraṇ of Mogūr near Madura. In connexion with these there are two other small details which throw some light upon the religious condition of the time. As Vaṭṭagāmaṇi was fleeing from the field of battle a Jain ascetic by name Giri exclaimed in exultation, says the Chronicle, 'The great black lion is flying.' For this insult the ārāma where the Jain lived was destroyed and a Vihāra (the Abhayagiri vihāra) was built in its place. When the seven warriors took umbrage at the severe treatment accorded to one of their number by

the despotic monarch, the Bikshus who intervened asked the question whether the Dharma would be advanced by the success of the king or by the prosperity of the Tamils. The answer expected, as in fact the answer given, was that it would prosper under the king. When the king restored himself he called back Somā and reinstated her in her former position as queen. In her honour was built the Somārāma which was also called Maṇisomārāma to bring in the Chūlamani or crown that she had carried with her. It was in this reign that the three piṭakas (baskets of the Buddhists) and the attakathā were written down.

The two sons of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi ruled in succession. The second of these was not a Buddhist and was a rebel. His name was Cōranāga and he had for his queen Anula. Among the rapid succession of Anula's lovers there are two Tamils, the city-carpenter Vaṭuka and the Damila Brahman Niliya.

The next reference to South India occurs in the reign of Iḷanāga, A. D. 95 to 101. There was, early in the reign, a rebellion of the clan called the Lambakannas. Iḷanāga, was an exile for three years in India and returned with an army with which he defeated the rebellious clan and regained his throne. There is here a story of Iḷanāga's son and the statement resembles in some details the story of Karikāla. The queen of this prince Chandamukhaśiva had the name Damilādevi.

In the reign of Vohārikatissa (A. D. 263 to 285) as he was called, there was a fratricidal war. He was an enlightened ruler who set aside bodily injury as a penalty. His reign was remarkable for the prevalence of heretical opinion particularly the Vētulya (Vaipulya) doctrine which he is said to have suppressed. His brother Abhaya was caught in an intrigue with the queen and had to flee for protection to India. Through the help of a disaffected uncle of his and with the assistance of the Tamils he was eventually able to overthrow his brother and take both the queen and the kingdom.

From A. D. 296 to 315, there was a usurpation, this time by the Lambhakannas of Ceylon. There was a succession of three, namely, Sanghatissa, Sanghabhodhi and Goṭhakābhaya. The second of these was a particularly pious monarch and piety according to the ideals of old goes generally with incapacity for efficient government. There was naturally a rebellion under the minister-treasurer Goṭhakābhaya and the king had to flee for life. He met a beggar who offered him food out of his little store and in reward the king asked the beggar to cut off his head and take it to the usurper and secure the reward. The beggar was reluctant and to save him the crime the king gave up the ghost where he sat, so as to enable the beggar to take the head and gain the price without committing a crime. Such stories are common enough but the point here is it has quite a family resemblance to that given of the patron chief Kumāṇa of the Tamil country (pp. 152-162 of Pundit Swaminatha Iyer's Edition of *Purnānūru*). In the reign of the last of these Goṭhābhaya (302 to 315) the Vētulya heresy was get-

ting stronger in its following and he is said to have seized sixty of the heretical Bikshus in the Abhayagirivihara and banished them to the opposite coast. A Bikshu from the Chola people (by name Sanghamitta) who attached himself to one of the exiled there and who was well versed in the teachings concerning the exorcism of spirits, came over filled with bitter enmity to the priests of the Mahāvihāra monastery and played a decisive part in the assembly arranged for the discussion of the merits of the two schools of Buddhist teaching. He got the better of it in the argument so much that the king was well pleased with him and appointed him to be in charge of his two sons Jetṭatissa and Mahāsena. By partiality to the latter the Bikshu lost favour with the former who succeeded to the throne after the death of his father. The hostility between the two sects had gone so far that at the funeral of the king, Jetṭatissa found that the other sect declined to do the honour due to the departed sovereign and Jetṭatissa in revenge had to perpetrate a massacre of the recalcitrant priests. Sanghamitta was afraid of his life and went away to India till the throne should pass to his favourite pupil Mahāsena.

Mahāsena's reign, which according to the scheme of chronology adopted by the learned editor and translator of the Mahāvamsā is A. D. 325 to 352, is occupied with the dispute and mutual destruction of the respective monasteries of the two sects. Sanghamitta and the minister Sona were votaries of the new school. Meghavanābhaya, another minister, was of the other school. This latter revolted against the monarch and came to terms when the latter had undertaken in a measure to restore the partly destroyed Mahāvihāra the obnoxious minister and the Choliya priest were got rid of by assassination through the intercession of one of the queens. Another then by name Tissa took the place of the dead priest and the Mahāvihāra had again to be evacuated. There could have been no peace and it looks as though there were none. One interesting statement in the midst of all this controversy is that the king destroyed the temples of the Brahmanical gods, among which the phallic Śiva finds specific mention, in order to build the Mañihiravihāra. Mahāsena's reign brings the Mahāvamsā proper to a close.

Whatever difference of opinion there may be as to the actual dates in the Chronicle there can be no manner of doubt now as to the broader periods. There is very strong ground for accepting Professor Geiger's scheme. There can be no objection to taking the dates as generally correct. If by gathering together the references to India from the Chronicle we could examine in the light of these whatever information may be available on this side of the sea, there is the likelihood of some confirmation in regard to certain outstanding facts; but it must at the same time be recognized that there is no Chronicle on this side to compare with the Mahāvamsā. Regrettable as this absence may be it is advantageous in some respects because the information available would throw an unmeant and perhaps therefore a truer light, upon the matters under consideration.

There is a body of Tamil literature of which some at least has to be referred to this period. Does a study of the Chronicle throw any light upon this question? The object of this study of the Chronicle is to make such a comparative study possible. In what has been gathered above one fact stands out clear that there was considerable intercourse between the island and the mainland, particularly the Chola country. There is again clear statement that there were Brahman settlements and Brahman temples in the island; that the kind of Buddhism that came from the Chola country was the Mahayāna form whereas that which is traceable to upper India is the Hinayāna. Does this general position find any echo in the literature of this period?

We shall not enter into any examination of specific details on this occasion. We would reserve that for a fuller examination seeing that Mr. L. D. Śwamikkannu Pillai joins issue with astronomical data. The Mahāvamśa, at least this part, does not mention that Gajabāhu went to India or built a temple to Pattinidevi as the *Śilappadhikāram* says a Gajabāhu did. But the other side must have better authority than they are able to produce, as this omission may possibly be explained away.

Without in any way anticipating the discussion we have promised to ourselves it may be pointed out that monks of the Mahāvihāra monastery were under no obligation whatever to mention this fact. The question whether week days were in use in South India before a particular date will have to be examined separately from evidence South Indian. All this and other connected matter will be considered in a detailed study of the ancient literature of the Tamils as they are at present available.

ESSAI SUR GUṆĀḌHYA ET LA BRHATKATHĀ

BY PROFESSOR FELIX LACÔTE

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CHAPTER III

THE PAIṢACI LANGUAGE

THE work of Dandin, quoted above, has induced us to think that before Guṇāḍhya Paiṣaci did not exist, at least as a literary language; the legend leads to the same conclusion: Guṇāḍhya, having given up the use of sanskrit, of prākṛit, and of every local dialect, would have remained practically dumb, had he not used Paiṣaci. Besides, the originality of that language seems to have struck deeply the Indian Savants, and it has done a great deal to raise the fame of Guṇāḍhya. What then was Paiṣaci?

Before answering: a prākṛit—it is necessary to agree on the meaning of that word. Not that I mean to discuss here in detail the difficult problem of prākṛits; for that I refer the reader to the works of Mr. Senart and of Mr. Pischel.¹ Here I will content myself with some definitions which will serve as a basis for what is to follow.

A

THE ARTIFICIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PRĀKRITS

It would be a misuse of the word prākṛit to apply it to the ordinary vernaculars. Under the general term of prākṛits Indian grammarians understand

¹ E. Senart, *The Inscriptions of Piyadasi*; E. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākṛit-Sprachen* (Gr. der I.-A. Ph., 1, 8); the question of Paiṣaci is summed up in para. 27, with the necessary bibliographical indications; they have only to be completed by those of G. A. Grierson. *The Pāṣāṇa languages of North-Western India* (London, R.A.S., 1906). The reader will see easily how much I am indebted to those works; yet I must warn him that I am alone responsible for my deductions regarding Paiṣaci.

literary languages which are to a large extent artificial. They are not derived from classical sanskrit, but at the same time, they do not represent the dialectic products of the local evolution of the Vedic language. They are languages which did really exist but which have been altered and regulated according to some conventional rule by theoreticians. Prakrit is opposed to sanskrit and to apabhramṇa, at least was so in ancient times. The Kāvyaḍaṇṇa makes a distinction between the works written in sanskrit, in prakrit, in apabhramṇa, and those in which are used more than one of those languages—for in the singular the last two words must be understood as generic. Such is also the implicit classification of Vararuci, who, in the Prākṛtaprakāṇṇa, does not mention apabhramṇa, a proof that he does not consider it as a prakrit. Yet, the barrier between an apabhramṇa and a prakrit is very thin. The more modern grammarians simply make apabhramṇa a kind of prakrit, as it is seen in Hemaṇṇa's work and in the Markaṇṇa Kavindra.¹ On the other hand, apabhramṇas and prakrits very often go in couples; by the side of Čauraseni, there is a Čaurasena-apabhramṇa, of Mahārāṇṇi a Mahārāṇṇa-apabhramṇa, of Māgaḍhi a Māgaḍha-apabhramṇa. The examples given in Hemaṇṇa's Grammar show that apabhramṇa must be nearer the spoken language, without one being able to affirm that it is absolutely identical with it, whereas prakrit would rather be a compromise between the spoken language or, if you prefer, apabhramṇa and sanskrit². This is what gives, to a certain extent, grammarians the right to say that prakrit is based on sanskrit—which is assuredly untrue in a linguistic point of view but correct enough when one considers the principles followed by the creators of prakrits in their work of adaptation. It is thus possible that at first the name apabhramṇa was applied to spoken languages³, those *deçabhāṇa*, the use of which, in the legend, Guṇaḍhya had forbidden himself as well as the use of prakrit and of sanskrit. But as soon as apabhramṇa became a written language those vernaculars, which went by that name, became, in their turn, literary and required the intervention of grammarians. Having thus become partly artificial they entered into the cycle of prakrits; they were no longer distinguished from them, except by their lower level in relation to sanskrit. In short, grammarians came to recognize an apabhramṇa type which they submitted to hard and fast rules. It became then necessary to separate it completely from the spoken languages. They then imagined they should distinguish literary apabhramṇa from languages purely popular (*deçabhāṇa*, *grāmyabhāṇa*). To tell the truth,

¹ In Pischel, l.c., para. 3.

² Ex. *Čaurasena-apabhramṇa*: Kaṇṇhe palambu kidu Radie. It would in Čauraseni: Kaṇṇhe palambam kidam Radie. In Sanskrit: Kaṇṇhe pralambam kṛtam Ratyah (Hem., Gram. d. P. S. Pischel), IV, 446; and cf. Pischel, G. d. P. S., para. 5).

³ Apabhramṇas tu yac chuddham tattaddeçu bhāṇitam [Vāgbhaṇṇaṇṇa (ed. of the Kavyamala) II, 3].

if apabhramṣa, taken as a determined kind of prākṛit, is a language relatively well defined, agreement has never been come to as to the meaning and extension of the general category 'Apabhramṣa'¹. We see that later on, even non-Aryan languages (Mārkaṇḍeya), have been admitted into it.

In any case, neither prākṛits nor apabhramṣas as we read of them, no more than the monumental prākṛits, can be taken to represent exactly any local dialect. It is true they bear, as a rule, local names, but that even does not mean that they have been used by writers of a determined country of India; it only means that they have had as a basis a local dialect, more or less modified, and artificially altered. It is impossible to tell how far those voluntary alterations have gone; the oldest inscriptions are written in a language 'de chancellerie' already rather vague but certainly conventional.

Thus prākṛits, in the narrow sense given by grammarians to that term, have no linguistic reality, or rather they have only an indirect one. In that respect they are exactly like classical sanskrit but certainly inferior to the language of the Brahmanas. A prākṛit has no other existence but by the will of the writer who uses it; it is born the day when it pleases those who invent it to create it for literary life. This is the reason why the number of prākṛits has *a priori* no limit and has never ceased to increase. The Prākṛitaparakāṣa knows only four of them but, the more we go on in literary history, the more of them we meet in wonderful steadiness. It is generally admitted to-day that the variety of prākṛits used in a dramatic work is not a sign of antiquity.² This very fact, which was formally brought out in favour of the antiquity of the Mṛcchakaṭika, for instance, now serves as an argument against it. If we had all the texts and if we were able to restore the complete history of prākṛits we would be able to assign to each, at least as far as it is a literary language with fixed grammatical rules, a father, so to say, and a date of birth.

It is impossible to arrive at such precision. We shall content ourselves to define a prākṛit with the help of three data: the name which indicates the local dialects of which it is an adaptation, the rules given by the native grammarians, lastly, the texts. Paiṣāci is one of the oldest prākṛits; it is mentioned by the Prākṛitaparakāṣa by the side of Mahārāṣṭri, of Māgadhi and of Āuraseni, but it is not, by far, so well known as the other three. Its name—an exception—does not seem to be local; the information given about it by grammarians is very scanty. Lastly, the only fragments of connected text which are still extant, are the few quotations we find in the Grammar of Prākṛits of Hemaṇḍra (IV, 303-28) and are believed to have been borrowed from the *Bṛhatkathā*.

¹ Pischel, l. c., para. 4.

² S. Levi, *Th. Ind.*, pp. 206-7.

THE EXTENSION OF PAIÇĀCI

Paiçāci seems to have existed very little in a literary form; it is regularly mentioned in the treatises of grammar, and it has been subdivided into numerous varieties, but, as a matter of fact, we never find it used in works of literature. It is even difficult to affirm that this is due to chance alone and that time has caused the texts to disappear, and we are not at all sure that Paiçāci has been used in any other work but the *Brhatkathā*. The Tibetans, voicing in this what they say is the doctrine of the Sarvāstivādins, affirm that, in olden times, the Sthaviras, one of the four great schools, used to read their sacred books in the piçācika dialect, whereas the Sammitiyas used to read them in apabhramça, the Mahāsamghikas in prākṛit and the Sarvāstivādins in sanskrit¹. That would tend to prove that Paiçāci, as a written language, has had a certain extension, if it were not evident that, for the authors of the division of languages—it is attributed by Tārānatha to a certain Vinitadeva—the word Paiçāci designates in a very vague manner an inferior and barbarous dialect; they do not know exactly what a prākṛit is as they speak of apabhramça as a prākṛit, and they call it the language of animals. Then how could we admit that they had the least idea of what paiçāci was, when we see them attribute the use of it to the Sthaviras, that is to the sects of Ceylon? Shall we admit that the Tibetan tradition, though altered on that point, can be ancient and worthy of belief as to the use of Paiçāci by certain sects? There is no doubt it can be relied on as far as the Sarvāstivādins are concerned. It is not only to attribute to themselves the first rôle, as Mr. Kern² seems to believe, that the Sarvāstivādins have boasted to have had their sacred books written in sanskrit. The Sarvāstivādins are (says I-Tsing) one of the four schools of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins, of which the Vinaya has found place in the lists of Chinese and Tibetan sacred books. Now, in the Chinese canon Mr. S. Levi has discovered 32 of the 36 chapters which form the sanskrit compilation called the Divyāvadāna and 21 of those chapters are borrowed from the Vinaya³ of the Mūla-Sarvāstivādins. The language of the Divyāvadāna, though having singularly deviated from that of Pāṇini, is all the same true sanskrit. But if the Sarvāstivādins have told the truth concerning themselves, their classification, as to the additions, shows too much *esprit de système* for us to believe it to be based on facts. I agree with Mr. Kern that we have here a simple

¹ Cf. Burnouf, Introduction, 446; Lotus, 357; Wassilief, *Der Buddhismus*, etc. (trad. Benfey), I, 248; 295; Kern, *Histoire du bouddhisme dans l'Inde*, II, 448-52.

² Kern, I. C.

³ S. Levi, *Les éléments de formation du Divyāvadāna*, *Toung Pao*, VIII (1907), 105-22. Cf. also E. Huber; *Sources du Divyāvadāna*, *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*, VI (1906), Nos. 1-2.

imitation of the laws imposed by the theoreticians of the stage, who make their personages speak a dialect as far different from Sanskrit as their social status is lower. The Sarvāstivādins attribute to the schools a regular language, the more vulgar in proportion to their being more beyond the pale of orthodoxy. The Sthaviras, occupying in that respect the lowest degree in the Tibetan classification, have been assigned Paiçāci, the very name of which seems to imply something degrading. The repartition of the languages among the four main groups of schools is necessarily posterior to the distribution of the eighteen schools under the four headings which is itself recent. Nothing, however, authorizes us to believe that we are in presence of an ancient tradition.

Of the subvarieties of Paiçāci only one, Çūlika-Paiçāci is known to us and that by one text [Arya stanzas quoted by Hemaçandra, *Gram. d. P. S.* (Pischel), IV, 326].

There can hardly be any question of the use of Paiçāci as a spoken language. A literary prākṛit has never been identical with a spoken language. But Mr. Senart has suggested the idea that the name Paiçāci might very well have been applied just to the popular language, i.e. to apabhraṃṣa. It would only be, he says, 'two different names to designate two analogous, if not identical, things. Perhaps it is for that reason that Vararuci does not mention apabhraṃṣa. It is probable that, at the time when his grammar was written, the arbitrary¹ differentiation had not gone so far as to distinguish between Apabhraṃṣa and Paiçāci.' It is true, as we shall see later on, that with the modern grammarians there is constant confusion between the Category Paiçāci and the Category Apabhraṃṣa. But that confusion, it may be noticed, is peculiar to modern grammarians who write at a period when Paiçāci, the use of which had completely disappeared from common use, is no longer but a name which is used altogether at random. Let us go back only as far as Hemaçandra, and we shall see by the instances which he quotes, that Paiçāci individualizes itself by special characters, perfectly systematized and capable of keeping for it, to a certain extent, a Sanskrit physiognomy which is not its least striking originality. It does not seem to me that it should be confused with apabhraṃṣa. As to the omission of apabhraṃṣa my opinion is that it can be accounted for by the fact that in his time apabhraṃṣa had not yet been used as a literary language.

Mr. Hoernle has also suggested the hypothesis that Paiçāci might be a spoken language; in that case it would be the language of the immigrant Aryans corrupted in the mouth of the Dravidian² populations. We shall discuss that opinion later on. Lastly, Mr. Grierson does not hesitate to call

¹ Les Insc. de Piyadasi, II, p. 501, n.

² A comparative grammar of the Gauḍian Languages, Intr., XVIII-XX.

modern¹ Paiçāci the dialects actually in use in Kafiristan, the upper valley of Chitral, of the Svat, of the Indus as far as Ladak and Cashmere. Those languages of the North-West have some phonetic peculiarities in common with Paiçāci, but it would be going too far to give them the name of Paiçāci, which historically they have never borne, unless it be for convenient classification. It is by supposition only that their ancestors can be identified with the several *piçācas* recognized by the grammarians (V. *infra*), and they have certainly not sprung from Paiçāci as it is taught us by Hemaçandra.

C

ORIGIN OF THE NAME PAIÇĀCI

The oldest prākritis, Çauraseni, Māgadhi, Mahārāṣṭri bear local names. Must that necessarily be the case with Paiçāci? Certainly not. Çauraseni, before it became a literary language, was the language of the Çūrasenas who probably were the creators of the drama and had a popular poetry connected with the worship of Kṛṣṇa; it has not come by a sudden invasion into the written and learned literature, the day it was fixed by an artificial code, it had a poetical and religious² past. The case is the same with Māgadhi; the name of the official bards (Māgadhas) keeps alive the memory of the rhapsodies of Māgadha. Mahārāṣṭri, the most famous and the most used of prākritis in erotic poems, is reserved by the theoreticians of the stage to the chanted stanzas; we are allowed to see in that fact the continuation of a local poetical tradition of the Mahārāṣṭra. Paiçāci, on the contrary, has no antecedent; it appears suddenly in literature only with Guṇādhya. No doubt it was based on an existing language, but why should it have kept the name of one of the peoples who spoke that language, if these semi-barbarians had not made themselves famous by any literary work?

To believe that at any time peoples more or less savage have really been called Piçācas, is an illusion; the word in sanskrit was always synonymous with *Bhūta*. The Piçācas mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (VII, 121, 14) belong to an imaginary geography: The name is to be found, in an enumeration, after the names of real peoples, the Yavanas, Pāradas, Kalingas, Tāṅgas, Ambasthas, but just before the more vague classes of the barbarians and hillmen. In that text the word Paiçāca simply means 'savages' in general.

Mr. Grierson, remarking that the piçācas are flesh-eating demons—piçāca = omophagos—and that cannibal legends, relating to the national origins and religion, are current in the regions of the north-west where precisely are

¹ The Pis. Lang. of North-West India.

² S. Levi, Th. Ind. 330-5.

spoken the dialects called the modern Paiçāci, relies on these arguments to strengthen the linguistic considerations which have led him to propose that localization.¹ Must we then admit the existence of a nation of Piçācas, otherwise of cannibals? It would in that case be cannibals inhabiting places where were spoken Indo-European dialects, which Mr. Grierson believes intermediate between Iranian and Indian languages. I am willing to admit that sometimes man-eaters have been called piçācas, but that the generic term, used as a proper name is meant to designate some special tribe of the north-west, is less probable. All the possible suppositions on that point, appear to me equally inadmissible. Must we suppose that peoples speaking an Indo-European language and certainly not addicted to cannibalism, have been called 'cannibals' on account of some old stories which they used to tell? The Kauçika-Sutra teaches indeed that to acquire vital strength it is necessary to eat seven vital parts of seven males among whom one Snātaka and one king! Has one ever heard the Brahmans called piçācas on that account? It is not less difficult to believe that those peoples were given the name of the savages by whom they were surrounded. Lastly it is not possible to maintain that those cannibals assimilated themselves, only as far as language went, to the neighbouring tribes; the savages, in those parts of India little accessible, have but too well succeeded in preserving their customs and languages for us to admit that in Kafiristan and the neighbouring regions they have in ancient times adopted an imported language.

If piçāca has ever meant 'cannibal' and if there had been tribes of piçācas those piçācas did not speak Paiçāci, and they have nothing to do with the prākṛit of Guṇāḍhya. In Cashmere there are legends relating to struggles between Piçācas and Nāgas who are said to be the first inhabitants of the country, but I am unable to see in those legends the least trace of historical² reality.

As for the possible correlation between the name of the Paṣai language (group of Kafiristan) and the word piçāca, suggested by Mr. Hoernle,³ it is really but a hypothesis based on a verbal resemblance, but entirely devoid of any scientific demonstration.

I shall have done with all the explanations of the name Paiçāci when I have mentioned that of Crooke⁴. The Bhūtas or piçācas are recognized, according to popular beliefs, by the fact that they speak through the nose; that very peculiarity would then explain the name Paiçāci. Unfortunately for that ingenious hypothesis, the grammarians teach us nothing of the kind and the fragments in Paiçāci which have come down to us do not present any special phenomenon of nasalization.

¹ 'Piçāca' = Oomophagos, *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 285 sq.

² Cf. Grierson, *The Pis' Lang.* p. 2 and 189-90.

³ In Grierson, *l. c.*, 5 n.

⁴ Crooke, *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, p. 149.

It is to the father of Paiçāci that we must go to find out the origin of the name of that prākṛit. Now, we have already remarked that it ought to be Guṇāḍhya. I endorse the opinion of one of the commentators of the Vāsavadattā of Subandhu, Narasimha Vaidya. He probably wrote in Bengal,¹ at a period which I cannot possibly determine; but, as he does not make any allusion to the commentaries of Jagaddhara and of Çivarama-Tripāṭhin, we may well presume that he was anterior to them; Jagaddhara can be placed approximately in the eighteenth century. After having said² *Brhatkathā bhūtabhaṣākhya granthabhedah, Guṇāḍhyas tatkarta*—he adds, quoting, as it seems, an older author, *bhūtabhāṣāpranētāsau Guṇāḍhyaḥ Kavir ucyate*. Although the term *pranētar* may be understood in the general sense of *author* and does not necessarily imply that Guṇāḍhya is the *creator* of Paiçāci, it is nevertheless true that the name of Paiçāci was considered as indissolubly associated with that of Guṇāḍhya.

I conclude that it is either the *Brhatkathā* itself or the legend of Guṇāḍhya which should supply us with the required explanation. The author himself has been able to put his tale in the mouth of a piçāca, Kāṇabhūti, who, having been first a Yakṣa, guilty of the indiscretion which has become legendary, was reborn piçāca to relate the *Brhatkathā* to Guṇāḍhya. But that explanation is not in accordance with the older part of the legend, which attributes the indiscretion to Guṇāḍhya himself. I prefer the following: Guṇāḍhya made use of a language new and very vulgar: from whom did he learn it? From 'savages' or from 'piçācas'? And why should he have used it? Because of the bet. Once the piçācas were introduced into the legend, it was natural to call the nameless prākṛit of Guṇāḍhya 'the language of piçācas.'

The presence of the piçācas in the legend of Guṇāḍhya might be due to the vulgarity of Paiçāci and, through an ulterior consequence, it would owe its name to them. That leaves altogether unsolved the problem of its linguistic origins. It can only be inferred that Paiçāci was a literary adaptation of a language particularly vulgar, spoken by semibarbarian tribes, and that consequently it was bound to be different from it in many particulars.

D

THE PLACE OF ORIGIN OF PAIÇĀCI

That explains why there is no Piçāca-apabhramça. If the language which had been adopted by Guṇāḍhya was altogether different from literary languages and if by apabhramças we must understand languages popular but susceptible subsequently to be used as literary languages, no one could have

¹ Hall, Vas., Int., p. 47.

² Ibid, p. 27.

had the idea of using it more or less as it was in a written work. We are certain only of some subvarieties. Hemachandra treats only of one, the Cūlika-Paiçācika,¹ which Trivikrama and Simharaja called Cūlika-Paiçāci.² Mārkaṇḍeya Kavindra³ mentions three of them, the Kaikeya—, the Çaurasena—and the Pāncāla-Paiçāci, the only ones, he says, which are polished languages (nagara); the Kaikeya-P, would be based on Sanskrit, the Çaurasena-P. (and the Pancala-P, which differs from it only by a phonetic detail) on Çauraseni. An unknown author, whom he cites, gives the names of eight more, because he takes into account those which are not literary; the Kāñḍiçēṣya-, Pāṇḍya-, Māgadha-, Gauḍa-, Vṛāḍa-, Dākṣiṇātya-, Çābara-, Drāviḍa-. The three varieties known to Mārkaṇḍeya would alone be prākṛits, the others would be but deçabhāṣas. The testimony of Mārkaṇḍeya is rather recent, probably of the seventeenth century⁴; at that time there was no longer a sufficient distinction made between written languages and prākṛits proper, as he rightly remarks, and the old notion of the prākṛits, narrow but precise, had become altogether obscure. The list discussed by Mārkaṇḍeya shows that in the category of Paiçāci, have been included non-literary and altogether incongruous languages from the north and the south; the outline of the classification has become so vague that the unknown author, whom he quotes, mentions a second time as apabhramṇas most of the languages which he had mentioned already as paiçāca.⁵ Though there may be a relation between Çābara-Paiçāci and Çābarī, which is classified as Vibhāṣa (the vibhāṣas come in order of excellence before apabhramṇas), and between Vṛāḍa-Paiçāci and Vṛāḍa-apabhramṇa, it seems that all the non-literary varieties of Paiçāci are the remnants left out from the recognized categories and there is no reason to associate them but for their barbarous character. In fact, Paiçāci would have in the end signified in a general way, 'language of savages'; and it is in this very sense that the Sarvāstivādins, in the Tibetan tradition, have used that word. Vāgbhaṭa, dividing the works into four classes, according to the language in which they are written, places first sanskrit 'the language of the gods,' then the several kinds of prākṛits, then apabhramṇas, that is the common languages, as they are spoken, without contamination, in the several countries of India. Lastly, he closes his list with Paiçāci which he formally calls the 'language of demons'. *Yad bhūtair ucyate kimcit tad bhautikam iti smṛtam.*⁶ Paiçāci ranks last as if bearing a note of infamy. If it be true that Vāgbhaṭa, who is not properly a grammarian, and who surely reproduces a teaching anterior to him, goes back to the twelfth century, one sees that from early times the name of Paiçāci had become

¹ Hemachandra (ed. Pischel), IV, 825-28.

² *Ibid.* para. 3, 27, 10.

³ Pischel, G. d. P. S., para. 28.

⁴ Pischel, *Gr.* d. P. S. para. 27, 38, 39.

⁵ Pischel, G. d. P. S., para. 40.

⁶ Vāgbhaṭa-lamkāra (ed. of the Kavya-mala), II, 1-3.

synonymous with 'barbarian'. But that unfavourable treatment, at a time when Paṇḍi, long since dead as a literary language, was no longer but an old school reminiscence, may be due to the meaning of the word piṇḍa much more than to the linguistic character of the prakrit of Guṇāḍhya; at any rate that teaches us nothing about the place of its origin.

Lakṣmidhara,¹ whose evidence is modern, but based on earlier data, gives us of the piṇḍas a list original in this sense, that it is more geographical than linguistic: Pāṇḍya-, Kekaya-, Bahlika-, Sahya-, Nepala-, Kuntala-, Gāndhāra-, and four more names which are corrupt. One sees that he localizes the piṇḍas on the confines of the Aryan world and places most of them in the north and in the west.

It is not there that the legend of Guṇāḍhya could have led one to place the language which he had adopted. His travels led him into the Dekkan and it is in the forests of the Vindhya that he is believed to have learnt the language of the demons. Yet the objection has not much force in it. Guṇāḍhya, as we have said already, must have been a great traveller, it is possible that he conceived the idea of utilizing dialects not yet used in literature, but familiar to the lowest classes of the north-west, artisans, Banyas of the Punjab, leaders of caravans, to be met with on all the roads in India; when one relates popular stories, it is sometimes considered an artistic nicety to *patoiser* a little. On the other hand, Guṇāḍhya, without going very far, may have been able to know some of the dialects mentioned above; some are met with in a sporadic manner in the Punjab itself (Kaikya-P) and in Sind (Vrāṇa-P).² Still, that the forests of the Vindhya should have been given as the place where Paṇḍi was spoken, is due to the fact that those forests and their wilderness supplied a well-known descriptive theme; they are haunted by non-Aryan tribes, 'these Pulindas, says the *Ālokaśamgraha*,³ who live in caverns, and whose banded masses in the open spaces of the forest, look like lines of stumps blackened by fire.' Those places were suitable dwelling places for the piṇḍas. The fact has no greater importance.

In a matter of this kind it is the evidence of the language itself that should carry conviction, and we must confess that it corroborates, though to a very limited extent, the previous indications and would lead us to look for the place of its origin in the north-west.

Hemacandra treats of Paṇḍi immediately after Čauraseni but he contents himself with noting very briefly the points in which they differ. But this 'rapprochement' which is traced back to Vararuci has been imagined for the convenience of exposition and does not imply any real relationship between Čauraseni and Paṇḍi; their phonetic system is quite different. On the contrary among the languages to which Mr. Grierson

¹ In Lassen *Institutiones linguae Pracriticae*, p. 13; and cf. Pischel, G. d. P. S., para. 27.

² C. Grierson, '*The Pis.*' *Lang.*, p. 4.

³ B.K.C.S., VIII, 31.

gives the name of modern Paiçāci and of which the antecedents have perhaps some relationship with some of the non-literary languages classified as piçācas by the grammarians, some have peculiarities in common with Paiçāci. The most striking concordance between Paiçāci and the modern dialects studied by Mr. Grierson is the preservation of the intervocalitic *t* (shifted to *d* in Çauraseni and lost in Mahārāṣṭri) :

Ex:	Sk. <i>bhagavatī</i> ,	P. <i>bhagavatī</i> (Hem., IV, 307).
	Sk. <i>çatam</i> ,	P. <i>satam</i> (Hem., IV, 307).
Compare:	Sk. <i>tāta</i> 'father',	Baṣgali <i>tōt</i> , Wai-alā, <i>tata</i> , Paṣai <i>tātī</i> , Khō-wār <i>tāt</i> (Grierson, p. 104).

But the most striking peculiarity of Paiçāci—perhaps still more characteristic of Çūlika-Paiçāci, is that to sanskrit sonants answer surds.

Sk. *g, gh* ; C.-P. *k, kh*.

Ex. (Hemacandra, IV, 325) :

init. ¹ :	Sk. <i>giritatam</i> ,	C.-P. <i>kiritatam</i> .
	Sk. <i>gharmah</i> ,	C.-P. <i>khammo</i> .
med.:	Sk. <i>nagaram</i> ,	C.-P. <i>nakaram</i> .
	Sk. <i>meghah</i> ,	C.-P. <i>mekho</i> .

Sk. *j, jh* ; C.-P. *c, ch*.

Ex. (Hemacandra, IV, 325) :

init. ¹ :	Sk. <i>jīmūtaḥ</i> ,	C.-P. <i>cīmūto</i> .
	Sk. <i>jharjharah</i> ,	C.-P. <i>chaccharo</i> .
med.:	Sk. <i>rājā</i> ,	C.-P. <i>rācā</i> .
	Sk. <i>nirjharah</i> ,	C.-P. <i>niccharo</i> .

Sk. *ḍ, ḍh* ; C.-P. *t, th*.

Ex. (Hemacandra, IV, 325) :

init. ¹ :	Sk. <i>ḍamarukaḥ</i> ,	C.-P. <i>ṭamaruko</i> .
	Sk. <i>ḍhakkā</i>	C.-P. <i>thakkā</i> .
med.:	Sk. <i>taḍāgam, maṇḍalam</i> ,	C.-P. <i>taṭākam, maṇṭalam</i> .
	Sk. <i>gāḍham</i> ,	C.-P. <i>kātham</i> .

Sk. *ḍ, P. and C.-P. t*.

init. ¹ :	Sk. <i>Dāmodarah</i> ,	P. <i>Tāmotaro</i> .
med.:	Sk. <i>sādanam, praḍeṣaḥ</i> ,	P. <i>satanam, pateso, vatanakam</i> , <i>vaḍanakam, kandarpah. kaṇṭappo</i> .

Sk. *dh* ; C.-P. *th*

Ex. (Hemacandra, IV, 325) :

init. ¹ :	Sk. <i>dhūli</i> ,	C.-P. <i>thūli</i> .
med.:	Sk. <i>madhuram</i> ,	C.-P. <i>mathuram</i> .

¹ This is the teaching of Hemacandra, but he warns us that according to other authors (for instance, Vararuci) the shifting of sonants into surds never takes place in the initial letter.

Paiçāci, on the contrary, keeps the Sk. *dh*. ex. (Hema., IV, 324) āyudham.

Sk. *b*, *bh*; C.-P. *p*, *ph*.

Ex. (Hemacandra, IV, 325):

init.¹: Sk. *bālakaḥ*,
Sk. *bhagavatī*,

med.: Sk. *rabhasaḥ*,
Sk. *ḍimbam*,

C.-P. *pālako*.

C.-P. *phakavatī*.

C.-P. *raphaso*.

C.-P. *ṭimpam* (Kramadīvara,
in Pischel, G. d. P. S.
para. 191).

Paiçāci sometimes keeps the Sk. *bh* sometimes replaces it by *h*. For the Sk. *Bhavāti*, Hemacandra gives both *bhoti* (IV, 318) and *hoti* (IV, 349).

Sk. *v*; P. ou C.-P. *p*.

Ex. (in Pischel, l.c., para. 191)¹

init.²: Sk. *vanam*,

P. (C.-P.) *palam* (Kramadīvara,
l. c.).

med.: Sk. *Govindaḥ*

P. (C.-P.) *Gopinto* (Bhāmaha,
l. c.).

This change of sonants into surds is not to be found in any other prākṛit. In Cūḷika-Paiçāci, it even extends to *dh*, which is in all the prākṛits the most stable of consonants.

Lastly other remarkable contrasts are the following :—

Sk. *n*; P. *n*.

Ex. (Hemacandra, IV, 306):

Guṇagaṇayuktah

P. *gunaganajutto*.

Sk. *l*; P. *l*.

Ex. (Hemacandra, IV, 308):

Sk. *salilam*,

P. *salīlam*.

Mr. Hoernle³ is inclined to see in all these facts a defect of pronunciation of the peoples speaking Dravidian dialects when using Indian languages; Paiçāci would then be apabhramṣa pronounced in a Dravidian way for, he says, 'the change of the Aryan sonant *n*, and *l* into surd *ṇ* and *ḷ* respectively is a characteristic peculiar to the Dravidian dialects. According to Caldwell those dialects had originally no sonorous mute. The Dravidians, consequently, when they adopted an Aryan language, were naturally inclined to ill-pronounce the sonorous and to transform them into surds.' Mr. Senart⁴ and Mr. Pischel⁵ have found fault with that opinion. The former has called attention to the fact that 'the hardening of sonorous consonants is found from time to time, at all periods, since Piyadasi, of the epigraphic prākṛit.' The

¹ Cf. collection of examples in Pischel l.c., paras. 190, 191.

² Vide Note on page 151.

⁴ Insc. of Piyadasi, II, 50, 1. n.

³ Comp. Gram. of the G. Lang., Int., xix.

⁵ l.c. para. 27.

fact is that the inscriptions of Asoka give instances of it in places far apart in India: at Shahbazgarhi, not far from Attock, in the valley of the Indus, *g* changed into *k*:—

maka (Senart; Insc. of p., I, 270):—name of king *Magas*.

Antikini (*Ibidem*):—name of king *Antigone*.

b changed into *p*:

paḍham (*Ibidem*, I, 175): corresponding inscriptions at Dhauli and Jaugada: *bāḍham*.

At Khalsi, not far from the source of the Jumna, we find in the same passages, *mākā*, *amtekina*, *pāḍha*.

At Dhauli in Orissa *j* changed into *c*:

kamboca (Senart, *Ibidem*, I, 118): Inscription of Khalsi: *kamboja*; of Shahbazgarhi: *kamboyo*.

At Jaugada also in Orissa:

d changed into *t*:

paṭipātayema (Senart, *Ibidem*, II, 112): corresponding inscription at Dhauli: *paṭipādayema*.

It would be perfectly useless to attempt to localize those sporadic facts from which no law can be deduced if the recent observations of Mr. Grierson had not called our attention to their presence in the inscription of Shahbazgarhi. Similar ones can be found to-day in Kasmiri, for *g* shifting to *k* (Grierson *The Pis'*, *Lang.*, p. 96; the example is a word borrowed from Persian,) in Sīnā for sk. *dh* (Av. *ḍ*) to which corresponds *θ* (G., p. 111), in Veron, Baṣgali, Kāçmiri, Wai-alā, for *b* shifting to *p* (G. p., 116): in Veron, for *v* shifting to *p* (G. p. 125). All these, I admit, are indications extremely vague, yet worthy of notice that from a remote antiquity the change of sonants into surds has been peculiar to the languages of the north-west.

I will then fall in with Mr. Grierson and shall locate in that region the place of origin of Paiçāci, that is of the dialect imitated by Guṇāḍhya; though what leads me to do so is not so much the latter observation as the former one which is to me more plausible: for modern dialects, such as Paiçāci, always keep this intervocalic *t*.

Owing to this that dialect had a physiognomy more sanskrit than the prākritis already in use before Guṇāḍhya, more especially Mahārāṣṭri; it is not astonishing that Guṇāḍhya should have carefully kept that peculiarity, but what must we think of the way he has treated the sonants?

In Paiçāci the change of sonants to surds is limited to *d*, whereas it is general in Çūlika-Paiçāci; and there lies the essential difference between Çūlika-Paiçāci and Paiçāci. Now, it is Çūlika-Paiçāci which is particularly considered vulgar; it is Çūlika-Paiçāci, as is shown by the example quoted which Bhoja has in mind (*Sarasvatikanīhābharaṇa*, 57, 25 ed., Borooah), when he deprecates the use of common Çūlika-Paiçāci by important

personages. It is that variety of Paiçāci which has the greatest linguistic reality as its name indicates. We must not ask for an explanation either from the Cūlikas, people mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (VI. 3297) or from the cūlika, excrescence, which according to the technique of the theatre, is one of the processes calculated to make known what dramatic propriety does not allow to exhibit on the stage; Cūlika-Paiçāci is the 'low Paiçāci' (cf. pāli *culla*); this name is formed in the same way as that of the Ardhamāgadhi.

In Paiçāci it is strange that, everything else being equal, the alteration which affects the *d* regularly spares the other momentary sonants. No doubt it is dangerous in phonetics to say: this cannot be—but one will admit that the change of the non-aspirate dental sonant looks but a peculiarity arbitrarily chosen, amidst analagous ones in a local dialect which some have endeavoured to imitate. In Cūlika-Paiçāci, on the other hand, according to Hemacandra, the treatment of the sonorous was absolutely uniform: an identical alteration affects them whatever their position in the word, whether they were simple or aspirate, intervocalic or in a group, whether they belong to an incontestably Indo-European word, like *rajā*, or to a heterogenous word like *ḍhakka*. That this phonetic phenomenon is possible is proved by the example of the Teutonic group of languages: All the Indo-European momentary consonants which have remained momentary, that is to say, the non-aspirate sonorous, have become surds. But if we consider that this phenomenon is absolutely foreign to prākritis and that it has left no serious traces in any Indian languages—for those discovered by Mr. Senart in the inscriptions, notably in that of Shāhbazgarhi and by Mr. Grierson in the modern dialects of the north-west, affect only a few consonants in each language and only in certain words—it will be very reasonable to admit that it may have taken place more probably in a group of non-Aryan population, which did not possess sonants in its primitive language. As a matter of fact in Cūlika-Paiçāci everything takes place as in the French spoken by Alsations, who¹ without absolutely confusing the soft and the hard consonants deprive the *b* and the *d* of their sonorous characteristics, so much so that a French ear can no longer distinguish them: moreover as our alphabet does not supply us with any means of reproducing graphically the difference, we replace in the texts the sonorous by the corresponding surds in order to imitate the Alsatian pronunciation. I will then admit the explanation of Mr. Hoernle, but with the difference that I shall ascribe to some non-Aryan population of the north-west what he attributes to the Dravidians.

This change of the sonants into surds which altered the aspect of the words must have appeared strange and vulgar. Guṇāḍhya in reproducing the change by only one consonant gave to his prākrit a characteristic *sui generis*;

¹ This remark has already been made by V. Henry, *Rev. Critique L.* (1900), p. 496.

but he has been sparing in his imitation of the spoken language whereas Cūlika-Paiçāci has, later on, carried that imitation to its extreme limits.

It seems to me that we find here one of the striking processes used in the creation of prākrits. The peculiarities are neither completely unreal nor completely in accordance with the reality of the spoken language. It is a matter of taste, of choice and of judgment. In every prākrit the traits of a determined dialect are dominant, but some of them are also borrowed from others and that composite mixture is artificially regulated by a learned grammar which never quite forgot the sanskrit standard.

We must then believe that the Paiçāci of Guṇāḍhya, based on an Aryan language of the north-west or of the west, spoken by non-Aryan peoples, reproduced the barbarian characters of it only to a small extent, just what was required to give it some zest, attraction and originality. In so much as, in other respects, that language was nearer to sanskrit, it was imitated with greater faithfulness. On the whole it was not so different from sanskrit as the other prākrits. This is why we must not wonder that the strange advice of *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* (58, 15 & Borooah)—to give to important personages when they have not a noble part to play, a language which is at the same time sanskrit and paiçāci—may have been followed easily enough. Other prākrits may allow these pedantic literary sports, but it is Paiçāci which lends itself to it most readily. Hemacandra in the *Kavyānuçāsana* gives several examples of it (Ed of the *Kavya-mala*, 229 sq.) which, on the other hand, do not seem to me drawn from known authors.

Bordering on sanskrit on one side, barbarous on the other, Paiçāci had every claim to be at the same time admitted into the canonical list of literary languages and also to be classified 'hors serie' with a shade of disapproval. In all technical treatises it has always constituted a group by itself. One must not be surprised that in the legend of Guṇāḍhya it was clearly distinguished from prākrit as well as from sanskrit; but we see it is treated in the same manner in the *Bālarāmāyana* (VIII, 4, 5) and the *Vāgbhaṭālamkāra* (II, 1) Dandin finds it so odd that he gives it as a proof that a *kathā* can be written in any language whatever (supra, p. 31). Lastly owing to its vulgar character that seems to have struck the theoreticians, especially its name has been used as a label for all spoken languages more or less barbarous of the west, the north and even the south though it has assuredly no connexion with every one of them.

One can understand now how Paiçāci has been looked down upon, not theoretically on account of the prestige of Guṇāḍhya, but practically. Its being mentioned by the theoreticians of the theatre proves nothing as to its use, for they lay down rules as to what is possible as well as on what is real. The disappearance of the original *Brhatkathā* in India must be partly due to the disfavour which was attached to Paiçāci more strictly than to other prākrits. In Cashmere, the use of Paiçāci has lasted longer: Cashmeri is

classified by Mr. Grierson as piçāca : Guṇādhya, who has adapted a language nearly related to the local dialect, had become somewhat Cashmerian through adoption; it is possible that his work has continued to be altered again and again in his prākṛit; though this is no sufficient reason for us to believe that its subject matter has been left as it stood.

THE CHANK SHELL IN ANCIENT INDIAN LIFE AND RELIGION

BY MR. JAMES HORNELL

A lecture delivered before the Madras Literary Society

I

THE sacred Indian conch, the Śankhu, or Chanku is a large and handsome gastropod mollusc, distinguished for the intense hardness, the great thickness and the snowy whiteness of its shell. Large specimens exceed 4 inches in transverse diameter with a length of 8 to 8½ inches. The average size is 2½ inches in diameter. The chief fishery for this shell lies off the Indian coast of the Gulf of Mannar and around the shores of Palk Bay. Both in India and in Ceylon this fishery is one of considerable economic importance, as it gives lucrative employment to over 1,400 divers for some five months in each year. The annual production averages 25 lakhs shells with an approximate first hand value of from Rs. 1½ to 2 lakhs. Almost the whole catch is exported to Bengal to supply material to the prosperous shell bangle industry located in that presidency. Adult chanks live largely on sea worms of various species, and their habitat may be considered as any sandy ground where this food is abundant, lying between low tide level and the 12-fathom line. When and how the cult of the chank as a religious symbol originated in India are questions which go back so far beyond any traditions now existing that the utmost difficulty confronts us when we seek to find their solution. One main fact alone seems certain, and that is the non-Aryan origin of this symbol. When the hungry swarms of Aryan tribesmen descended upon North-West India, the whole land, with the exception of the north-east corner, was occupied by a long settled Dravidian population, split into many states, and tribes vastly differing in civilization. It is to the coastal Dravidians settled in the prosperous sea ports situated on the western shore of the Gulf of Mannar, or to men of the same race living on the Kathiawar coast that the first use of the chank must be traced. Both localities are the seats of ancient pearl fisheries and the centres whence much over sea traffic flowed coastwise to semitic lands and to Egypt. The chank and pearl oysters are usually associated in Indian waters, the chank on the sandy

stretches, interspersed with the rocky patches which form the habitat of the pearl oyster; pearl fishers often bring chanks ashore, and thus the beauty of their snowy white porcelain-like massive shells would early become familiar to the merchants gathered from many lands to purchase pearls. The earliest notices of the use of the chank are entirely of a secular nature, and this fact and the context of these earliest references can be made to furnish the required key. These first notices occur in the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, where we get frequent references to the employment of the chank as a martial trumpet by the great warriors whose more or less mythical exploits are recounted. Particularly is this the case in the Mahabharata, where in the Bhagavat Gita we find the heroes heartening their forces to the fight with loud blasts on their battle conches. Each hero has his famous conch distinguished by some high sounding name just as the famous swords of European legendary heroes were frequently given names that have become immortal in song and story. The name Panchajanya was given to the conch of Krishna, King of the Yadavas who had espoused the cause of the Pandavas. Around this famous shell many legends have gathered at the present day, and we see it held on high in most figures of Vishnu, of whom Krishna is considered by Hindus to be a re-incarnation. Vishnu derives several of his alternative names from his chank symbol as Śankapani, the chank-armed, and Śankamenthi, the chank-bearer. A curious and most significant fact is that the twenty-second Tirthankar of the Jains, Nemi or Neminath, who, legend says, was the son of King Samudravijaya of the race of Harivamśa and a cousin to Krishna, has a conch as his emblem and is represented in Jain statues as being of a black colour. From the earliest times the conch has also been used in India to call the people to their sacrifices and other religious rites, and as an instrument of invocation to call the attention of the gods to the ceremonies to be performed. With this intimate association with the chief religious rites the people gradually came to reverence the instrument itself and to adore and invoke it, as is also done with regard to many other instruments or articles of sacrifice in Hindu rites at the present day; these latter do not, however, appeal in equal measure to the religious feelings of the multitude, for around them have not been woven the myths and legends pertaining to the chank. In temple worship, chank fulfils an important service, and it is a general custom in Bengal to keep up a continuous blowing of conch shells, till an eclipse or earthquake is over. Sinistral shells, whenever possessed by a temple, are usually mounted in handsomely decorated golden settings and used as libation vessels in the service of the god. In the ceremonies attending the coronation of great Kings the chank naturally played an important part. In Bengal every marriage conducted according to Hindu ceremonial includes the placing of chank bangles, lacquered red, upon the bride's wrists. An iron bangle placed on the left wrist is also essential to the ceremony. Among the Baliās

of Telugu districts who there constitute the chief trading caste, there is a legend current that a being created by Siva from the braid of his hair brought to the earth chank bangles, and that being is believed to have been the ancestor of Gazula Baliyas. The latter sub-division of the Baliyas peddle glass bangles only at the present day, but it is reasonable to suppose that before the discovery of glass, their stock in trade consisted instead of chank bangles. It is indeed probable that the introduction of glass dealt a heavy blow to the employment of the chank shell in feminine adornment in certain districts, particularly in places like Vizagapatam, where glass factories sell bangles at a fraction of the cost of comparatively expensive chank ones, which require the expenditure of much time and labour to render attractive. Another valuable reference to the chank trade is contained in two Tamil stanzas which chronicle a passage at arms between a Brahmin and Nakkirar, the celebrated poet-President of the Madura Sangham in the reign of a Pandyan King who flourished probably about the beginning of the second century A.D. One tradition has it that Nakkirar, chank-cutter President of the Sangham was a Parawa by caste. No Parawas to-day are engaged in chank-cutting, although they still monopolize the shore industries of Tinnevely, where they continue as from time immemorial to provide the contingent of divers required for the exploitation of both the pearl and the chank fisheries of the Gulf of Mannar. The evidence furnished by the Tamil classics of the existence of an extensive chank bangle industry in the extreme south of India during the height of ancient Tamil civilization, 1,200 to 2,000 years ago, received unexpectedly conclusive corroboration within the year 1912 through discoveries made on the sites of the once famous Tamil cities of Korkai and Kayal (now Palayakaya). The decay of the chank industry in Tinnevely is probably due to the Muhammadan invasion, and the date of the passing away of the chank cutting industry is about the fourteenth century, a time which marks the close of unchallenged Hindu supremacy in the South. In the Southern Deccan and neighbourhood the chank bangle fragments have been found in Mysore, Bellary, Anantapur, Kurnool, Raichur, Doab, Guntur and Kistna. Careful examination of the museum collection leads one to the conclusion that the shell bangle factories existed at Hampasagaram in Bellary, Bastipad in Kurnool and Maski in Raichur and at the great Buddhist ruins of Amaravati in Guntur district.

In conclusion, the lecturer said:—I wish to apologize to all Indian scholars present for the temerity which has led me to write upon a subject which requires for its adequate treatment a scholarship and an intimate acquaintance with the Tamil classics and the mythology of the Hindu religion which, to my great regret, I do not possess. I have however done the best I could under my limitations of scholarship and of leisure, and I trust that some gentlemen having the requisite qualifications will now make a thorough search through ancient Indian literature, and, by annotating the

references he will find, produce a more detailed and effective story of the chank in its relation to the life and religion of the peoples and castes of ancient India, than it has been in my power to prepare.

At the close of the lecture he explained the different kinds of chanks found in India, specimens of which were exhibited on the lecturer's table. Some ornamental chank bangles and necklaces were also exhibited.

II

THE CHANK IN ANCIENT INDIA

Mr. S Krishnasawmi Iyengar, M.A., Professor of English, Central College, Bangalore, writes:—

It certainly is matter for great satisfaction that after long hibernation the Madras Literary Society and Auxiliary of the Royal Asiatic Society has come back to its own and has begun with a lecture on an interesting subject like the one above. Situated as it is at the headquarters of the south of India and possessed of a library which was, at any rate till recently, supplied with the best books published, it has an advantage for encouraging research work which in the seventies of the last century it had been doing. The *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* was for those days, a journal almost of the same quality as the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. It is to be hoped that the good work thus begun will continue to be done for long to the great benefit of all in South India.

Mr. Hornell has done public service by calling attention to one of the most interesting subjects of enquiry—interesting because so familiar to all and withal so little known. The chank seems to have been very early known in the south as it occurs in a variety of connections in various places in literature. So far as can be made out now this shell seems to have attracted attention on account of its pure white colour and the sound it was capable of producing when lying ashore by the wind blowing on it. The names Śankhu and its Tamil equivalents are found used without distinction in the earliest classics of Tamil. The common Tamil name for it is vaḷai (வலை); a more learned name is paṇilam (பணிலம்). Often times it is known by its specific property of being able to catch up the wind like the æolian harp, and to produce a deep rich sound. In the same connection in the *Śilappadhikāram* it occurs as the sound producing Śankha; vaḷai and pearls spread out on the shore by the waves of the sea resembling full moon and the stars, and the chank feeding in the harbour. The same work in another connection describes it as among the weapons of Viṣṇu, 'the Śankha white as milk'. As a weapon of Viṣṇu it is referred to in the first lines of *Mullaippaṭṭu*, and as vaḷai contrasting in its white colour with the darkness of sea-water in the *Perumbāṇāruppaḍi* of the collection known *Pattuppaṭṭu* in Tamil. So far therefore as Tamil literature is concerned the references are such as would

leave the question whether the article is of Dravidian origin, altogether open, though it is certain that neither the word nor the article itself could have been imported into the Tamil land from the north. It seems probable that it was available both in the north and the south.

The Tamil word is derivable from the verb *vaḷai*, meaning bend and has in this connection the significance bent.

Its earliest uses appear to have been as ornaments, particularly bangles. The usual classical connection in which it gets used in Tamil literature is where love-lorn lady-folk grow thin and wan, so as to let down the bangles of chank. The other significant use possible from the name or special attribute given to the article is its capacity to produce sound, rich and full, even in the state of nature in which it is found. This feature it is that has transformed it into the article of holy use pointed out by Mr. Hornell. The earliest use to which it would have been put is as a blowing-conch—a use to which most of us are accustomed to our great annoyance sometimes now. This would lead by a natural transition to its being taken as a necessary weapon of war. That this has long been recognized as the sole sound producing apparatus where sound had to be produced that would appeal to a very large number, is borne out by the word being still used, to stand for the steam whistles in modern factories, among the Tamils. So far as I am able to make out at present this has been the only use to which it appears to have been put in non-Brahmanical literature. It is only as such that it occurs when it does in the *Mahāvamśa* of Ceylon except in one instance where it stands for the *Śankhanidhi* of the god of wealth—one among nine such that he is reputed to be possessed of.

As a war weapon then it gets transformed into something holy by mere association. It is as such that it becomes one of the five characteristic weapons of *Vishṇu*. It has to be observed here that the conch of *Vishṇu* is not of as much special importance as the *Chakra* (discus); and when the Buddhists got to the stage of giving *Vishṇu* a name in their rather miscellaneous pantheon they called him *Padmapāṇi* *Bodhisatva*—not *Chakrapāṇi* nor *Śankhapāṇi* as one would expect. When it actually came to be associated with *Vishṇu* in this character it is not possible to settle definitely now. Among the several conches of the various warriors enumerated in the *Gita* none of them has any holiness attaching to it except that of *Krishna*. Hence it is clear that the conch was not regarded as holy but that the holiness of the holder gave that character to the instrument. Hence, later on, the holiness of the special one stuck on to the class and various are the holy uses to which it began to be put. It is used for holding water intended for the holy ablutions of gods and men. As a musical instrument it has its share of importance on occasions of festivity as well as of mourning. It is one of the five great instruments of music regarded as a sign of honourable status. It is one of the five great weapons of *Vishṇu* and hence of other warriors human and divine. It

is one of the five lucky marks upon the hands and feet of great men, royal and other. It is one of the nine nidhis or stores of the wealth of the Indian Pluto, Kubhera. Except in such connection there is no particular holiness attaching to the chank as such.

As an article of commerce the only reference I am able to lay my hands on at present is that in Cosmo Indicopleustes (sixth century A.D.) where he speaks of a port which he calls Marallo on the mainland opposite Ceylon, which exports large quantities of chank. Ordinary chanks are used for domestic purposes, one such use being for giving milk to babies. Nowadays metals chiefly silver are superseding it rapidly.

Among chanks of larger sizes the sinistral variety is considered rare and in consequence is highly prized as a holy article fit for use only in temples and for the service of God. There is a tradition connected with this in the town of Belur where there is a temple built by the great Hoysala ruler Vishnuvardhana. In the tank (Tirtha) attached to the temple and but a little away from it, one such of a large size is believed to appear once in twelve years. When it does appear it is taken out if any one is lucky enough to get sight of it and with offerings etc. taken over and placed in the temple. One such of old time discovery is being shown to people that visit the temple even now. There is a similar story of a begging-bowl of Buddha in the locality of the chank fisheries of Mannar. On the day of the birth of the Buddha this bowl of miraculous power was said to appear year after year. On one occasion when a miracle had to be worked this came in to the hands of Manimekhala, the heroine of a Buddhist epic. This it did once previously in similar circumstances as is related in the same work. This can only mean the appearance of a more than ordinarily large sized chank, but the story has it that it was the begging-bowl of the Buddha himself. This is the oldest Buddhist reference within my knowledge.

It is to be hoped that these details may be of some use to those that may wish to pursue the subject already handled with considerable ability by Mr. Hornell in his lecture.

III

THE CONCH IN ANCIENT SANSKRIT LITERATURE

Mr. M. Krishnamachari, M.A., M.L., M.R.A.S., High Court Vakil, writes:—

The conch is best known in Sanskrit literature by the name Śankha. There are however fifteen equivalents of the same denotation. Of this only two namely Śankha and Kambu appear to be primary. The other names are derivative, formed from the nature, colour or sound of the conch. Being aquatic, it is called Abja; being white, it is called Sveta; being noisy it is called Mukhara and so on. For purposes of linguistic or historical investigation, the two words Śankha and Kambu are the most useful. Whatever

may be the merit of the theory that the conch was not originally known to the Aryans, but attracted their notice only after their contact with the Dravidians, it is certain that the word Śankha cannot be of a non-Sanskritic origin. It is wrong to imagine that this word is a derivation from the Tamil Śanku. For the science of language always sees phonetic decay in the transformation of words. The aspirated guttural sound in the Sanskrit word is easily transformed in the course of linguistic change into the unaspirated guttural sound, hard or soft. It is therefore more probable that the Tamil word is a derivation from the Sanskrit original. Apart from this, Śankha is the name of the Rishi connected with a number of hymns in the Rig-Veda (6, 15). We can therefore safely conclude that the word Śankha apart from its denotation could not be of a foreign origin. It must however be admitted that in the sense of conch, there is no word used in the Rig-Veda Samhita. As a weapon of war it was never described in the Samhita literature. In the Rig-Veda (VI, 75, 1-14) almost all the weapons of war then in use are described:—bow, arrow, brace, quiver, chariot, whip, armour and coat of mail. Elsewhere are also found references to sword (1. 69), dagger (11. 267), club (1. 68), sling (1. 215), shield (111. 153), and helm (111. 161). Likewise in the white Yajur-Veda, we find the very same hymns of the Rig-Veda repeated in a description of war, but with the addition of the war drum. But there is no mention of the blowing of the conch or horn in war. During this period however Śankha was well known and used to create a sound, probably as a musical instrument. In the white Yajur-Veda (30-19) mention is made of a conch-blower along with a drummer, a lute-player and a flute-player. In the Atharvana-Veda (IV, 10, 2-3) Śankha is considered to be a very bright and powerful weapon capable of destroying foes.

Without attaching much importance to the uncertain chronology of the Vedas or the vedic period, it cannot be disputed that long before the age of the Brahmanas, the word Śankha was known in Sanskrit literature as an equivalent of conch. The language of the Brahmanas, or at least the majority of them, is the nearest representation of that stage in Sanskrit literature which formed the standard for Pāṇini's aphorisms, so that any inferences, linguistic or historical, that may be predicated of the latter may hold good with reference to the former. The words Śankha and Kambu are both classed under Unādi Gaṇas and their etymology is treated under special aphorisms. These Unādi suffixes were without exception accepted by Pāṇini. Considering therefore that a considerably long interval must have elapsed before these words could have been thought of by a grammarian like the author of the Unādi Gaṇas and that an equally long interval must have again passed before these aphorisms attained are pure enough to command their ready acceptance by Pāṇini, we may safely infer that long before the age of the Brahmanas, i.e. early in the period of the Mantras or Samhitas, their words were well known in the sense of conch. Until and unless it is

proved by positive evidence that chronologically the Dravidian languages had their origin long before Sanskrit and that the Dravidians not only settled in India but migrated into the Punjab and the further regions to the north-west so as to come in contact with and exercise their influence over the Aryan races during their earliest settlements it would be unsafe to lay down that the Aryans learnt the existence of the conch from the Dravidians. By the time we reach the post-vedic age Śankha becomes well known in all its uses and a good deal of mythological lore becomes associated with it. According to the story told in the Prakritikhaṇḍa of the Brahma-vaiivarta Purāṇa (canto 18) the conch grew out of the bones of the demon Śankhachūḍa whom Śiva killed and whose bones were thrown by him into the ocean. Tales of its sanctity are found in the Padma, Varāha and Skanda Purāṇas. Greater merit is attached to such as have a right whirl (Dakshināvarta). As a weapon of war the Itihasas and the Purāṇas abound in references. As a precious article the Buddhist literature knew it long before the Christian era. The Saddharma Puṇḍarīka (1. 14) classes it along with gold, silver and pearls. The earlier medical works treat of its medicinal properties. But later Sanskrit literature will not be of help to us for the purposes of original research on this subject. Probably the earliest Tamil literature may help us to proceed further in the course of historical study.—(*Extracted from the 'Hindu'*).

THE PURĀNIC TEXT OF THE DYNASTIES OF THE KALI AGE¹

BY S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR

THE *Matsya*, *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Vishṇu*, *Bhāgavata*, *Garuḍa* and *Bhavishya Purāṇas* all of them contain accounts of the dynasties that ruled in India in the Kali Age. All of these except the *Matsya* and the *Bhāgavata* give the ancient dynasties before the battle of Kurukshetra as well. Of the dynasties of Northern India the principal are three: the Pauravas who ruled in Hastināpura till Nicakshu's time, and then removed their capital to Kauśāmbī; the Aikshvākus who reigned at Ayodhya, and the Bārhadrathas who reigned in Magadha. The *Matsya* and the *Bhāgavata* adopt a different arrangement from the others and break up and scatter the dynasties and their accounts in different parts of the work. A collected and critical edition of the various texts was unquestionably a desideratum.

According to Mr. Pargiter these Purāṇas fall into four groups. The *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* fall into one group, for the following reasons. Each of them declares its origin from the *Bhavishya*; where the two latter differ from each other, one of them shows close agreement with the first; single manuscripts of these two sometimes vary so as to agree with the reading of the *Matsya*; and lastly, one Purāṇa occasionally omits a verse which appears in one or both of the two others. Sometimes a single manuscript of this Purāṇa preserves the verse thereby testifying to their original harmony. The *Vishṇu Purāṇa* and the *Bhāgavata* are generally alike in their versions, though condensed in comparison with those of the first group. Where the accounts in these two are fuller, the agreement with the version of the first group is closer thereby indicating a common origin. The *Garuḍa* is a late version and is a string of mere names. It gives only the Paurava, Aikshvāku and Bārhadratha dynasties. The only existing copy of the *Bhavishya* is vitiated and worthless.

On careful collation and comparison of the lists referring to the point, Mr. Pargiter arrives at the conclusion that *Bhavishya* in the great

¹ Edited by F. E. Pargiter, M.A., Indian Civil Service (retired), late Judge, High Court, Calcutta. Oxford University Press, 5s. net.

majority of cases can refer only to the Purāṇa that goes by the name rather than to the future, as the word can be taken to mean in some cases at any rate. This seems the likelier conclusion on the whole. It is matter for regret, however, that the available texts of this Purāṇa which is the source of all these accounts are vitiated and worthless.

These accounts are cast in the prophetic form and have for their starting point the reign of Adhisīma Krishna, fourth in descent from Parīkshit, except the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* which starts from the reign of the latter.

It was in this reign that a twelve-year sacrifice took place in the Naimiśa forest and these accounts were given by Sūta to the other rishis assembled for the sacrifice. These Purāṇas and the *Matsya* give the genealogies in the past from Abhimanyu and his son Parīkshit to Adhisīma Krishna and set out the succeeding dynasties in the future. Similarly of the Aikshvaku and Bārhadratha dynasties Divākara is named as ruling in Ayodhya and Sēnajit in Magadha, their predecessors being named in the past and successors in future, thus declaring virtually the three kings Adhisīma of the Pauravas, Divākara of the Aikshvākus and Sēnajit of the Bārhadrathas as contemporaries. The *Bhāgavata*, *Garuḍa* and *Vishṇu* take their starting point in Parīkshit or Janamejaya's reign though purporting to be recited in the reign of Adhisīma Krishna.

The occasional lapses in the attempt to maintain the future in the narration, indicate that it was by a slow process that this was ultimately attained. Though the accounts are professedly narrated in the court of a Paurava monarch, Magadha still seems to have formed the central point from which historical changes are viewed. Though Dr. Fleet dates the Kali Age from the date of Krishna's death some twenty years after the battle of Kurukshetra, when Yudhishtira abdicated and Parīkshit began to reign, these accounts have their starting point immediately after the battle.

Mr. Pargiter regards these Pauranic accounts as Sanskritized versions of a Prākṛit original from the following indications :—(1) Certain passages as they stand now violate the sloka metre in Sanskrit whereas they would comply with the rules in Prākṛit. (2) Certain Prākṛit words actually occur, especially where they are required by the metre where the corresponding Sanskrit would violate it. (3) Sanskrit words occur at times in defiance of syntax, whereas the corresponding Prākṛit forms would make the construction correct. (4) Mistaken Sanskritizations of names. (5) The copious use of expletive particles and (6) Irregular *sandhi*. These indications are found largely in the first group, *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa*, while the *Vishṇu* and *Bhāgavata* show these only in the older verses.

Judging from the old slokas and the Prākṛitisms that have survived, Mr. Pargiter infers that these accounts were originally composed in, or early rendered into, a literary Prākṛit not far removed from Sanskrit. From one sloka preserved in the *Bhāgavata* which is Pali and a number of Prākṛit

words which seem to him to be Pāli as well, Mr. Pargiter would take it that the original accounts were compiled in Pāli.

As to the compilation of these accounts the internal evidence available falls into two kinds, the subject matter and textual peculiarities. The subject matter itself falls into two parts, the first part giving dynastic matter and the second describing the unhappy conditions that should prevail in the Kali Age, and stating certain chronological and astronomical peculiarities.

There is one stage in the dynastic termination at the period following the downfall of the Andhras about A.D. 236, and the *Matsya Purāṇa* account brings the historical narrative down to about the third century A.D. and no further. The *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Vishṇu* and *Bhāgavata* all carry the narrative on to the rise of the Guptas who are described as reigning over the country comprised within Prayāga (Allahabad), Sāketa (Ayodhya or Oudh) and Magadha. This is exactly the territory which was possessed at his death by Chandragupta I who founded the Gupta dynasty in A.D. 319-20, and reigned till 326 or 330 (or even till 335 perhaps), before it was extended by the conquests of his son Samudragupta. This period marks the second stage of termination which may be taken at the latest to about A.D. 335.

On a careful examination of these accounts in the various available manuscripts and versions Mr. Pargiter arrives at this theory:—That the *Bhavishya* account was the earliest compiled about the middle of the third century. This the *Matsya* borrowed about the last quarter of the same century. The *Bhavishya* account was then extended to about A.D. 320 to 325. This was copied by the *Vāyu* (in one version). The *Bhavishya* version was again revised and was borrowed by the *Vāyu* accounts generally. Hence the order of development would be first *Bhavishya*; then the *Matsya*; then one version of *Vāyu* and then *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Vishṇu* and *Bhāgavata*.

The second portion of the accounts falls into two parts: (1) an exposition of the evils of the Kali Age; (2) a chronological-astronomical summary of the age; and is found in the *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa*. The first part seems to have received some addition at the first revision. The second has remained the same throughout, the whole belonging to the middle of the third century A.D. The Saptarshi cycle of 2,700 years was known and was in use at that time, and therefore two centuries earlier than has been supposed hitherto.

In regard to textual peculiarities the variations were according to Mr. Pargiter, due to clerical blunders or to misreadings of the manuscripts copied. On a consideration of the possible misreadings of various names in different scripts prevalent before A.D. 330, Mr. Pargiter finds that the errors in the *Matsya*, *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* are due to misreading *Kharoshṭī*, thence the *Bhavishya* account which is the source of all these must have been compiled in *Kharoshṭī* in Upper India not later than A.D. 330 when it went out of use.

Regarding the Sanskritization of the account Mr. Pargiter is of opinion that the *Bhavishya* took up the dynastic accounts in Prākṛit metrical chronicles and, embodying them in the *Bhashiya*, on the analogy of the older Purāṇas, Sanskritized these rather mechanically by putting in Sanskrit equivalents for Prākṛit words and substituting the future for past tenses, with the necessary modifications of length of lines by dropping unnecessary words and adding expletives, sometimes even recasting sentences.

The many errors and differences among the Purāṇas which as has been said above, have had a common source, Mr. Pargiter considers are due to carelessness. Of deliberate falsification 'I have found no instance except in the story of the dispute between Janamejaya and the Brahmans. Hence it is reasonably certain that in the main these versions have suffered from nothing but carelessness and accident'.

The text is published in Roman for reasons of obvious convenience and is arrived at after collation and comparison of the best editions and manuscripts. In interpreting these texts Mr. Pargiter would have the reader bear in mind that the original account was in Prākṛit.

In regard to the combinations of numerals Mr. Pargiter would not adopt the usual Sanskrit interpretation of these; and finds that a different interpretation answers better in the circumstances of the case. He finds 'this construction simplifies numerical statements remarkably and reduces to reasonable and probable totals figures that seem at first sight wild and extravagant.'

Whether further research supports all the conclusions of Mr. Pargiter or no, there can be no doubt that he has rendered in this careful compilation invaluable service to research. Purāṇic chronology and Purāṇic accounts have hitherto been received with an unmerited neglect in comparison with corresponding accounts in the Buddhist literature in particular. The critical compilation of these Purāṇic texts bearing upon the dynasties and Mr. Pargiter's elaborate introduction open vistas hitherto unknown. It will be possible hereafter to compare Buddhist and Brahmanic accounts and arrive at results the validity of which will be, if not beyond all question, rather a matter of difficulty to call into question. All students of Hindu India owe Mr. Pargiter a deep debt of gratitude for the labour and care he has bestowed upon this work, possible only to one who has had, like him, access to good libraries of manuscripts.

THE ĀLVĀRS AND THEIR TIMES

In a learned work entitled¹ 'Vaishṇavaism, Śaivism and Minor Cults' forming part of the *Encyclopædia* of Indo-Aryan Research, Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar devotes a chapter to this important question. The trend of his argument is somewhat as follows: Saṅkarshana and Vāsudeva worship obtained in the Mahratta country in the first century B.C. There is a prophetic statement in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*² that there would be a large number of people, in the Kali Age, devoted to Nārāyaṇa in the Drāviḍa country watered by the Tāmravarṇi, Kavery and other rivers, and that those that drink the waters of these rivers would be pure-hearted devotees of Vāsudeva. This Purāṇa he regards as having been composed in the tenth or the eleventh century, as it is held sacred by Ānandatīrtha (1199 to 1278) in the thirteenth.

Passing on to the question of the Ālvārs the learned Doctor quotes from my article in the *Indian Antiquary* on Tirumangai Ālvār and his date, and makes the following remarks in criticism which I set down *in extenso*: 'Mr. Krishnaswami places the last of them (Tirumangai Ālvār) in the earlier half of the eighth century A.D., and all the preceding ones impliedly before that date. But there is distinct evidence to show that Kuḷasekhara flourished much later. He was king of Travancore and one of the works composed by him, styled *Mukundamāla*, contains a verse from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* (XI. 2.36). Again in an inscription on a tablet existing in a temple at Nāregal, translated by Dr. Fleet³ it is stated that Permāḍi of the Sinda dynasty vanquished Kuḷasekharāṅka, besieged Chaṭṭa, pursued Jayakesin, and seized upon the royal power of the Hoysala and invested Dwārasamudra, the capital of the Hoysala dynasty. In another inscription⁴ this Permāḍi is represented to be a vassal of Jagadekamalla II whose dates range between A.D. 1138 and 1150. While the former was in power as Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara in the seventh year of Jagadekamalla, i.e. in 1144, a certain grant was made by a body of sellers of betel leaves and nuts. The Kuḷasekharāṅka mentioned as being vanquished by this Permāḍi, must be a prince reigning on the western coast as the others, Jayakesin the Kadamba Prince of Goa, the

¹ Published by Oxford University Press, Bombay. A fuller review of the whole work will appear in a future number of this Journal.

² Bk. XI, Ch. V, pp. 38-40.

³ *J. Bo. R.A.S.* XI, p. 244.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

Hoysala King and so forth were. Putting this statement and the quotation from the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* together, it appears highly probable that the Ālvār Kulaśekhara lived in the first half of the twelfth century. The sequence, therefore, given above cannot be implicitly believed in. Still it may be admitted that the earliest Ālvārs flourished about the time of the revival of Brahmanism and Hinduism in the north, which extended up to the Mahratta country, as we have shown from inscriptions and antiquarian remains and must have extended still farther to the south. The earliest Ālvārs may be placed before, about the fifth or the sixth century but there is nothing to show that Vaishnavism had not penetrated to the Tamil country earlier, i.e. about the first century. But an impetus, such as the rise of the Ālvārs indicates, could in all probability come only from the energy of the revival.'

While the learned Doctor's remarks regarding the trend of the movement may be accepted as a correct indication of the general tendency, the reasoning in regard to the specific question of Kulaśekhara deserves to be examined carefully. The chain of reasoning is as follows: Kulaśekhara quotes, in the *Mukundamāla*, a passage which occurs in the *Bhāgavata*. This latter is a work of the tenth century at the outside, as Ānanadatīrtha of the thirteenth century regards it as sacred. Kulaśekhara must be later than the *Bhāgavata* and therefore later than Tirumangai Ālvār. All this depends upon the identification of the Kulaśekharāṅka of the inscription with the Ālvār of a similar name. Kulaśekharāṅka it is argued, must be one of the kings of Travancore because the others are of the west coast, among them the Hoysala. It is not clear at what time the Hoysala dominions extended to the west coast and whether the Hoysalas ever had a west coast littoral belonging to them. The next important detail to notice is that the name Kulaśekharāṅka does not occur in any of the Tamil works of Kulaśekhara so far as I know. Among his titles occur one which is of some importance in this connexion. He is referred to as the ruler of Kolli (Quilon), of Kūḍal (Madura) and of Koḷi (Uraiyūr-Trichinopoly). This last ceased to be capital of the Cholas sometime in the tenth century. The passages under reference containing usually the *virudhas* clearly indicate that the Chola capital at the time was Uraiyūr and not Tanjore, their capital of the tenth and subsequent centuries. What, however, is a crucial piece of evidence against Dr. Bhandarkar is that there is an inscription of A.D. 1088 in which provision is made for the recital of one of the Tamil *prabandhas* of Kulaśekhara and what is more, a little before about A.D. 1050 (See my *Ancient India*, ref. under Kulaśekhara in the index), similar provision was made for this and another work of Tirumangai Ālvār. If the date of the *Bhāgavata* as arrived at by the Doctor be correct and if no other explanation were possible for the *Bhāgavata* passage found in the *Mukundamāla*, it may be necessary to postulate another Kulaśekhara who was the author of the

Mukundamāla and nothing else—at any rate not the Tamil works ascribed to the Ālvār. Whether Ālvār Kulasekhara was earlier or later than Tirumangai Ālvār the conclusion arrived at by Dr. Bhandarkar is untenable. I learn from Dewan Bahadur Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai that the evidence of the traditional horoscope of the Ālvār gives him a date somewhat later than that of Tirumangai Ālvār. Pending final examination of all available evidence, I regret very much to have to differ from the venerable savant whose great authority and the authoritative character of the publication in which he gives expression to his views make it temerity in me to question the correctness of the view on the basis of the available evidence. I should not have thought of doing this but for the tendency of these views to get into currency without a first-hand examination in the great majority of cases, and would request those that read this not to construe this as showing any want of respect for or appreciation of the labours of the veteran scholar in the field of research.

S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR.

THE RYOT'S CALENDAR

BY MR. F. J. RICHARDS, I.C.S., M.A., M.R.A.S.

AN admirable account of the Ryot's Calendar in Mysore State is given by Mr. H. V. Nanjundayya in his *Monograph on the Morasu Okkalu* Hs. 29-35 (an important section of the great Kanarese caste of Vakkiligas) in No. XV of the *Ethnographical Survey of Mysore*. The subjoined sketch of the Agricultural year in Salem District coincides in many particulars with the Mysore account, but whereas the Mysore ryots adhere exclusively to the lunar year, in Salem District agricultural practice is regulated to a large extent by the Tamil solar year, and the two systems of reckoning subsist side by side. It would be interesting to ascertain how far the practice in other districts of the Madras Presidency approaches to or diverges from these two standards.

Throughout the District the periods of seed-time and harvest are usually expressed in terms of the months of the Tamil solar year which begins on April 13. The year is also divided into six seasons (*ruthus*) and twenty-seven 'rains'. Each *ruthu* lasts for two solar months, beginning with Chittirai. The 'rains' are named after the twenty-seven *nakshatras* which govern the days of the lunar month, and each 'rain' lasts approximately thirteen and three-fourths days. Each rain is divided into four parts, two and a quarter rains making a solar month. The following is a rough outline of the agricultural calendar :—

1. *Chittirai* (April 13 to May 13), the first month of the Vasanta Ruthu, corresponding to Aries. Rains: (1) *Aśvini*, (2) *Bharani*, (3) *Krittika*, one part. Chittirai is the most auspicious month in the year, and is the proper month for the initial ploughing and preparation of the soil. Rain during *Aśvini*, however, is unlucky and 'destroys everything'. It is harmful to cocoanut and areca, and brings disease to paddy. But rain in *Bharani* brings a bumper harvest, *Bharani* is the lucky rain for ploughing, and seeds (such as gingelly) sown in *Bharani* are never blighted. Rain should fall too during *Krittika* or people will suffer want. Lightning in Chittirai portends a bad season, and a rainbow in Chittirai will cause the kambu to fail.

2. *Vaiyāsi* (May 14 to June 13), the second month of the Vasanta Ruthu, corresponding to Taurus. Rains: (3) Krittika, three parts, (4) Rōhini,

2. *Vaiyasi* (5) Mrigaśira (vulgar *Minchini*), two parts. *Vaiyāsi* is a busy month; kambu, tenai, dhall, castor, chillies, turmeric, etc., are sown and the ground is prepared for rāgi. Kambu sown in *Vaiyāsi* cannot fail. Rain in the fourth day of the waxing moon portends heavy showers. Rōhini, however, is dangerous, and if paddy be sown in Rōhini, there will not be a mortarful of rice.

3. *Āni* (June 14 to July 15), the first month of the Grishma Ruthu, corresponding to Gemini. Rains: (5) Mrigaśira, two parts, (6) Ārdra, (7)

8. *Ani* Punarvasu (vulgar *Chinna-Pūsi*), three parts. Kār paddy may be planted in Āni and varagu, cotton and ground-nut sown, but kambu sown in Āni 'will not suffice for bread'. With Mrigaśira end the 'early rains'. Ārdra is full of portents; if it thunders in the first three parts of Ārdra, the next six 'rains' will fail, but thunder in the fourth part of Ārdra augurs a good harvest and will even counteract the evil effect of thunder in the first three parts. Ārdra rain is otherwise auspicious. With Punarvasu begins the rāgi sowing. Rain on the tenth day of Āni ensures a good harvest, but a rainbow in Āni, particularly in the east or on a Tuesday, portends drought.

4. *Ādi* (July 16 to August 15), the second month of the Grishma Ruthu, corresponding to Cancer. Rains: Punarvasu, one part, (8) Pushyam (vulgar *Pedda Pūsi*), (9) Āslēsha (vulgar *Asale*). Ādi is the chief

4. *Adi* month for sowing rāgi, and for weeding and watering wet crops; in Ādi also gingelly is harvested. Seeds sown on the 18th of Ādi when the Kaveri River is supposed to attain its highest level and a son born in one's twenty-fourth year are treasures attained without endeavour. During Ādi the weather is anxiously watched. A shower on the new moon-day of Ādi is followed by a month of drought. Wind in Ādi destroys the crops, cloudless weather portends a scanty rainfall, and a rainbow in the east is an omen of famine. If there be five Sundays in Ādi, prices will be high. But rain on the 8th of Ādi, or a halo round the full-moon are signs of abundant harvest.

5. *Āvani* (August 16 to September 15), the first month of the Varsha Ruthu, corresponding to Leo. Rains: (10) Makha, (11) Pubba, (12) Uttara,

5. *Avani* one part. Āvani is the month 'for sprouting'. A few early crops (kār, sāmāi, tenai, etc.) are harvested, and later crops (śambā) are sometimes sown, but 'paddy sown in Āvani will be ruined with weeds'. In Makha the rain is either a deluge or a failure. High winds in Pubba are bad. If Uttara rains fail you must 'get your basket'.¹ Rain on the 6th of Āvani brings prosperity, but a rainbow in Āvani (as in Ādi) brings famine.

¹ i.e. prepare to migrate from famine.

6. *Purattāsi* (September 16 to October 16), the second month of the Varsha Ruthu, corresponding to Virgo. Rains: (12) Uttara, three parts, (13) Hasta, (14) Chitta, two parts. The Hasta rains (like those of Uttara) are of vital moment. 'If rain fails in Hasta, even a mother cannot give food;' and 'if leaves shake in Hasta, not even drizzle will fall in Chitta,' and 'if Hasta and Chitta fail, the man who tills will be no better off than the man who does not.' Rain on the 4th of *Purattāsi* is a good omen.

7. *Arpisi* (October 17 to November 15), the first month of the Śarad Ruthu, corresponding to Libra. Rains: (14) Chitta, two parts, (15) Svāti, (16) Viśakha (vulgar, *Isāki*), three parts. *Arpisi*, too, is a month of growth. 'It rains devils in Svāti', and 'if it rains properly in Svāti, you will find grain even under a Dhoby's slab'. Paddy transplanted in *Arpisi* will be ruined with weeds. Drizzle in *Arpisi* augurs heavy rain in *Kārtigai*, but a west wind in *Arpisi* destroys the crops. Rain on the 2nd of *Arpisi* bodes a good harvest. If it thunders in *Arpisi*, the picotta is the only help.

8. *Kārtigai* (November 16 to December 14), the second month of the Śarad Ruthu, corresponding to Scorpio. Rains: (16) Viśakha, one part, (17) Anurādhā (vulgar, *Anōragi*), (18) Jyēshtā. In *Kārtigai* the crops are ripening for the harvest, and cultural operations cease. 'Throw away seedlings when *Kārtigai* begins.' A ryot who sows kambu in *Kārtigai*, will feast his sweetheart on mud. After Viśakha the rainfall is scanty.

9. *Mārgaḷi* (December 15 to January 13), the first month of the Hēmana Ruthu, corresponding to Sagittarius. Rains: (19) Mūla, (20) Pūrvāshāḍa, (21) Uttarāshāḍa, one part. In *Mārgaḷi* the harvest is in full swing, and 'rain in *Mārgaḷi* brings ruin to the fields.' If it rains in Mūla there will be no paddy, and if the wind blows in Mūla pulses will be destroyed by insects. With Pūrvāshāḍa the rains are supposed to end, and the rains for the following year are said to be 'in incubation' till Uttarabhādra (Panguni).

10. *Tai* (January 14 to February 11), the second month of the Hēmana Ruthu, corresponding to Capricornus. Rains: (21) Uttarāshāḍa, three parts, (22) Śravaṇam, (23) Dhanishṭa, two parts. *Tai* is the most important harvest month of all, cultural operations being limited to hot weather crops where irrigation is plentiful.

11. *Māsi* (February 12 to March 13), the first month of the Śisīra Ruthu, corresponding to Aquarius. Rains: (23) Dhanishṭa, two parts, (24) Satabhisha, (25) Pūrvabhādra, three parts. In *Māsi* the last of the harvest is gathered and a few hot weather crops are watered.

12. *Panguni* (March 14 to April 12), the second month of the Śisīra Ruthu, corresponding to Pisces. Rains: (25) Pūrvabhādra, one part, (26)

Uttarabhadra, (27) Rēvati. Paṅguni is a month of comparative idleness and with the Rēvati showers begin the early rains of a new year.

12. Paṅguni

Perhaps after all the secrets of successful agriculture are to be sought in the proverbs in which the ryots so neatly epitomize the quiet philosophy of rural life. 'The higher the crop the greater the out-turn,

Proverbs

the greater the out-turn the stronger the ryot, the stronger the ryot the stronger the rule, and stronger the rule the stronger the king'. 'Children increase but land does not.' 'Plough the land that is not rocky, and speak to the man who keeps his word.' 'Take note of the man who fences his field and grazes his cattle.' 'The ryot who counts the cost will not have a ploughshare left.' 'A ryot who leaves his village in ploughing time, need not look for his sickle at harvest.' 'Trade requires forethought, agriculture requires none.' 'Sell your gold for food, but keep your land.' 'A ryot who rents his fields is sure to be a loser.' 'Cut no tree that you have planted even though it be a *nux vomica*.' The need for careful intensive cultivation is inculcated with many homely maxims. 'It is manure and not wisdom that makes the grain grow.' 'No manure, no harvest.' 'Relatives cannot do what manure does, yet 'ploughing can do what manure cannot'. 'Plough deep rather than wide.' 'The unweeded grain yields but one-fourth of a crop.' 'Weed, cost what it may' (*kadir kalainthu kalai pidungu*). 'Sowing is but one-fourth of transplanting.' 'Population is dense, but plants must not be crowded.' 'Closely growing grain requires first attention, thinly growing crops may wait.' 'He whose land grows *kūrai* grass and he whose wife is barren, reaps no profit.' 'Seeds sown on parched soil are like the offspring of a concubine.' 'He who tills a high-level field and he whose wife is a flirt, share the same fate.'

The art of meteorological prognostication is embodied, as usual, in a series of proverbs, which, by their terseness, assonance, alliteration and puns, defy translation. If white-ants take wing in the evening a heavy fall of rain will follow, and if they carry their eggs to a high level rain will fall within eight days. Showers that set in at noon persist like disease contracted in old age, and rain in the evening will not cease for weeping. A large halo round the moon betokens early rain and a small halo is a sign that rain is distant. A large rainbow portends heavy showers, and a rainbow in the east in the evening or in the west in the morning is a sign of rain. But a rainbow in the east in Āni, Āḍi or Āvaṇi portends a scanty fall. A red sky in the morning forebodes good showers, while a red sky in the evening means that rain will be delayed. Lightning in the north-west brings rain at dawn. A lightning flash right across the sky is a sign of instant rain. Lightning in the north, a rainbow in the west, clouds in the south and a gust of wind in the east are alike forerunners of rain, and so also is a north wind. A lunar and a solar eclipse within fifteen days of each other

Weather Wisdom

prognosticate a famine, but eclipses in Panguni, Āni, Purattāsi or Mārgali are signs of heavy rain and floods. If the horns of the crescent moon point north-wards, the harvest will be plentiful, if southwards, there will be drought. If fruit is abundant, flowers are few, and if dew is excessive, rain will fail. Plantains should bear their fruit on the northern side, and cocoanuts on the southern side. A ryot is warned against sowing paddy on a new-moon day, or thatching his house during Krittika. The lucky days for sowing are Monday or Friday, and for reaping Monday, Wednesday or Thursday. Sundays and Tuesdays are inauspicious. Above all, sowing should only be undertaken when the moon is waxing, and no agricultural work should be started on any 'black day' (*kari-nāl*).

F. J. RICHARDS.

CONTROL OF DOMESTIC ANIMALS

It would be interesting to collate the different methods of controlling the movements of domestic animals in vogue in South India. The following jottings refer to Salem District.

Ponies when turned out to graze are hobbled by having the two fore legs tied together, sometimes the hind legs are also tied, and sometimes the off fore leg is tied diagonally to the near hind leg. In the stable a rope is passed round the neck and fastened to a peg driven in the ground, and it is usual to rope each hind leg to a heel-peg.

Cattle are usually led by a rope passed through the nostrils. To prevent cattle and buffaloes from straying a rope is sometimes tied, one end to the horns, the other end to the right fore leg, just below the knee. In the case of calves the rope is passed round the neck. Restive beasts are condemned to drag about a heavy log, some three feet long, which is fastened to the neck, and trails along the ground between their fore legs. Sheep and goats, when in herds, are unimpeded, but singly they are sometimes led by a neck rope, and it is not uncommon to see a goat limping about on three legs, one of the fore legs being doubled back and securely tied. This method is occasionally applied to cattle. In Tiruchengodu Taluk a fore leg and a hind leg are sometimes tied diagonally. Pigs, of all the domestic animals the most destructive to crops, are prevented from breaking through the fences by a triangular framework of wood or bamboo with projecting corners, fixed round their necks and the same device is at times adopted for sheep or cattle, when mischievous.

F. J. RICHARDS.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S 'GITANJALI'

This volume of 'Song-salutations' is of but small compass, but of marvellous quality. As one reads the introduction by Mr. W. B. Yeats one probably feels that the praise given to the book is fulsome, and that the tears that he shed on the tops of buses while he read the manuscript were sentimental. But to read and to meditate is to catch the same fire of enthusiasm, and to admit freely that, while it is easy to nauseate the public with even sincerest appreciation, it is difficult to appraise the beauty and value of these meditations except in the author's own felicitous words. The English is of pellucid quality, as poetical prose as could well be written, it bears no obvious signs of being a translation from another language. That Mr. Rabindranath Tagore's writings were of high quality was indicated to the world by the recent gift to him of the Nobel prize; but we are sure that no outward assurances of their merit will bring the same depth of conviction that is bound to develop with quiet study and meditation.

One is tempted to quote from every page, but the scantiest of selections must serve. Devotion is at white heat throughout, and in India one would compare these stanzas with those of *Nalāyiram*, or of *Tāyumanavar* or *Māṇikka-Vāsagar*. But the thought is more modern, more universal, utterly free from local legend or mythology. The dignity of human life is emphasized at the outset: 'Thou hast made me endless, such is thy pleasure. This frail vessel thou emptiest again and again, and fillest it ever with fresh life. This little flute of a reed thou hast carried over hills and dales, and hast breathed through it melodies eternally new'. Again: 'The day was when I did not keep myself in readiness for thee; and entering my heart unbidden even as one of the common crowd, unknown to me, my king, thou didst press the signet of eternity upon many a fleeting moment of my life'.

The ready and close union of man and the Supreme is one of the great themes of the verses. God is ever coming to his people; every moment and every age, by day and by night, his presence is made manifest. In sun and in storm, in sorrow and in song, 'he comes, comes, ever comes'. In the light, the passing breeze, the clouds sailing across the sky, God visits the human heart. 'Thy morning light has flooded my eye—this is thy message to my heart. Thy face is bent from above, thy eyes look down on my eyes, and my heart has touched thy feet.' One of the verses to this effect is so

beautiful that it must be quoted in entirety: 'Day after day, O Lord of my life, shall I stand before thee face to face? With folded hands, O Lord of all worlds, shall I stand before thee face to face? Under the great sky in solitude and silence, with humble heart shall I stand before thee face to face? In this laborious world of thine, tumultuous with toil and with struggle, among hurrying crowds shall I stand before thee face to face? And when my work shall be done in this world, O King of Kings, alone and speechless shall I stand before thee face to face?' Such passionate devotion only waits for love 'to give myself up at last into his hands'.

But the devotion has a very practical turn. For himself he loves life, and is desirous to do a full day's toil, that when death comes there shall be a full harvest of fruits for him to gather. Here is a perfect declaration of a good conscience and of a good hope: 'And because I love this life, I know I shall love death as well'. Renunciation is not the way of devotion that attracts him, although we do find in several verses glimpses of the Vedantic view of this present life. He refuses to shut the doors of sense, to turn down the lamps of life; rather he will enjoy the world and its joys to the full, and eat the richest fruit of his desires. Not for him the monastic cell, or the remote jungle hermitage; life with all its revelations and its services has laid its hands on him.

And in accordance herewith is the cry 'Leave this chanting and singing and telling of beads! whom dost thou worship in this lonely dark corner of a temple with doors all shut? Open thine eyes and see thy God is not before thee. He is there where the tiller is tilling the hard ground, and where the pathmaker is breaking stones. He is with them in sun and shower, and his garment is covered with dust. Put off thy holy mantle and even like him come down on the dusty soil. . . . Come out of thy meditations and leave aside thy flowers and incense. What harm is there if thy clothes become tattered and stained? Meet him and stand by him in toil and in sweat of thy brow'. It is not often that India thus exhorts the ascetic. Nor do morals lie so near to religion generally in India as they do in these verses. The following is more in line with Christian ethics than with those of Indian religion. 'Life of my life, I shall ever try to keep my body pure, knowing that thy living touch is upon all my limbs. I shall ever try to keep all untruths out from my thoughts, knowing that thou art that truth which has kindled the light of reason in my soul. I shall ever try to drive away all evils from my heart and keep my love in flower, knowing that thou hast thy seat in the inmost shrine of my heart. And it shall be my endeavour to reveal thee in my actions, knowing it is thy power gives me strength to act'. It is of a piece with this ideal of practical, spiritual religion that he urges that God's presence is to be found 'where live the poorest, and lowliest and lost'. The barriers of caste cannot stand before this burning flame of universal love.

His ideal of personal religion has already emerged, and also his conception of his duty to others. Duty takes also wider relations as devotion realizes that it owes a service to its country. With his prayer for his native land we may well close; and though the review does not close dealing with the last things of life and with eternal bliss, it refers to what is perhaps higher still, a life of high service on the widest scale. Neither politics nor religion can rightly decline to join with Mr. Rabindranath Tagore in this lofty petition: 'Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high; where knowledge is free; where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls; where words come out from the depth of truth; where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection; where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit; where the mind is led forward by thee into ever-widening thought and action; into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake'.

BUDDHIST CAVES IN INDIA

ON December 12, 1913, the Rev. E. W. Thompson gave a lecture illustrated with lantern slides upon the Buddhist Caves of India. The illustrations were taken from the Buddhist excavations of Western India at Karle, Kanheri, Elura and Ajanta. The lecturer explained that the geological formation known as the 'Deccan trap', which is of volcanic origin and lies in deep horizontal strata, was particularly favourable to the purposes of the Buddhist monks, since it is durable and firm while it can be hewn out easily into regular shapes. We owe to the same geological formation both the castles of Sivaji and the monastic caves and temples of the Deccan, the one crowning the level summits of the hills and the others being excavated out of their sides.

Before showing the pictures upon the screen the lecturer gave a brief outline of the doctrine of the Buddha and of the development of the *Sangha* which was the instrument through which his teaching was to be realized. The extinction of desire occupied a central place in Buddha's system, and the widest meaning must be given to 'desire'. It was that principle of attachment to the things of the world which not merely acts during life, but remains also in the subtle body after death and causes renewed birth. The flame of human existence can only be extinguished when this attractive force which brings together the elements of body and mind and causes them to cohere has been completely destroyed. Hence pristine Buddhism was essentially ascetic: in it salvation was for the monk and for no one else.

The *Sangha* or community was the means through which the great end of release was achieved: it gathered men out of the world and passed them through a discipline by which desire was finally and completely extinguished. The Buddhist cave had its place in this scheme of discipline. The novice was required to promise that he would resort only to the four Resources, using rags for his clothing, the alms of the laity for his food, the excrement of the cow for his medicine, and the root of a tree for his dwelling-place. But these rules were relaxed on their literal severity; and the cave-dwellings were inhabited chiefly during the rainy season (*varsha-kāla* or *vas*), not simply because it was unpleasant to be abroad at such a time but also because there was a great danger of the monk incurring the guilt of destroying life, if he travelled when the earth was alive and creeping with all manner of tender young things. The caves exhibited many grades of size and convenience from

the single and rude cell of the hermit to the magnificent sculptured or painted halls of Elura and Ajanta with dormitories (*vihāra*) and chapter-houses (*caitya*) in which the community assembled under the presidency of the Elder (*sthavira* or *thera*) and joined in common acts of worship or discussion.

The lecturer sketched in outline the exercises of the monks in such cave monasteries during the Retreat of the Rains. The day began at dawn, or in the watch before the dawn, when the brethren gathered in the *caitya*, made obeisance to the sacred relics, and recited summaries of Buddhist doctrine and practice. The morning was spent in the instruction of novices, or in the discussion of doubtful passages in the Scriptures, or by the elders in pacing to and fro along the paved path in front of the caves in meditation upon the corruptions of the body and the evils of this transitory life. Before noon a visit was paid to adjacent villages for the collection of food, and at midday the one simple meal was taken. The afternoon was passed in receiving visitors and the public recitation of popular Scriptures or in renewing the exercises of the morning. With the fall of night the monks united in a closing act of worship and then laid themselves to rest upon the stone benches which served them for bed in the cells of the *vihāra*.

The lecturer said that there were two main criteria for distinguishing the age of a Buddhist cave—the first was religious and the second architectural. (i) The absence of shrines and images was a mark of great antiquity, as their presence in abundance argued a comparatively recent date. The lecturer pointed out the contrast in this respect between the great *Caitya* at Karle and the so-called Visvakarma temple at Elura, the one belonging probably to the third or second century before Christ and the other being as late as the tenth century of our era. The doctrine of Gautama was practically atheistic. Where everything was made to depend upon self-exertion, there was no room for prayer. Though even the oldest *caityas* contained a relic shrine (*dāgaba* i. e. *dhātugarbha*), yet the relic seemed to have had in the beginning no more than a mnemonic value and significance. It was of use in collecting and concentrating the faculties of the mind and making imagination more vivid. At a later stage the ideas of virtue immanent in the relic and of merit communicated by the shrine came in. Worship was thus little more than an act of recollection, and in the comparatively pure Buddhism of the South—the Lesser Vehicle or Narrow Way (*Hīnāyāna*) it had not advanced far beyond this stage. In the North, however, where the *Mahāyāna* prevails, Buddhism had developed into the most fantastic and crowded polytheism.

It was possible to trace this growth in the Buddhist caves of Western India. In the oldest there were no images, not even of the Buddha; but afterwards his image began to appear, not the historical Gautama alone, but Buddhas of many kinds and forms, and along with them gods and goddesses, angels and celestial attendants.

(ii) The second criterion was afforded by the architectural style. A certain simplicity and massiveness were characteristic of the oldest caves; as also was a close reproduction of the forms of wooden architecture. At Karle timbers were actually socketed into the stone roof: in later caves wooden rafters and beams were hewn out in the rock. The tendency, therefore, was for later excavations to depart more and more from the structural forms of wooden buildings.

It must be remembered that Buddhism flourished in India only as a religion of the Court; its monuments were to be found where it enjoyed the patronage of wealthy monarchs. This explained the strange collocation of an ascetic ideal and artistic exuberance which was found in many Buddhist caves. The Buddhist monk was bound to renounce the world; but the world came into his retreat along with the painter and the sculptor. It was the King who sent the artist. Mr. Griffith, who has reproduced the paintings of the Ajanta series with such loving fidelity in two large volumes, comments upon this 'incongruity between the vivid humanity and gaiety of these representations and the ascetic purpose of the halls they adorn'. It should be said of the Buddhist caves as a whole that, if the world came in with the artist the flesh and the devil were left outside. There were few of those terrific and repulsive shapes in the Buddhist *caityas* which appeared in their rivals—the Siva rock-cut temples; and the gross and the obscene were pleasingly absent.

THE SWINGING FESTIVAL IN SIAM

By C. AUSTIN WADE

WHEN the writer was in Bangkok a few years ago, he had the opportunity of witnessing an ancient Brahmanical ceremony called the Swinging Ceremony, held annually during the Swinging Festival. In spite of the contact with the west, one finds that old time, semi-religious, semi-secular pageants continue to hold their own not however without the ancient and modern being so mingled as eminently to illustrate the transition period through which the east is at present passing.

The Swinging Ceremony was greatly interesting in this respect, its leading feature being a procession (the purpose of this article) of decorated motor cars and these, seen by the side of guards attired in ancient uniforms, with quaint bell-shaped lacquered helmets and bearing bows and arrows, spears, tridents and other archaic weapons, with elephants and cumbrous bullock and buffalo carts as a back-ground, formed a picture fully as quaint and bizarre as it was interesting.

There were the usual dense throng of sightseers, orderly and good humoured as holiday crowds in the east generally are, mishaps being taken with characteristic philosophy and laughed over.

The procession formed up between Wat Po and Wat Leip (temples) and came round by the city wall. A squad of mounted police, a body of cavalry dressed in cuirassier helmets and body armour and the band of the Royal Body-guard led the way. Then came the 'show' of the day—the motor cars. They were of all sorts and sizes, ranging from the big touring car of Royalty to the little, noiseless electric 'runabout'. Many of them were wonderfully disguised, being so covered that unless one knew that there were motors underneath, one might almost imagine that they were gigantic creatures belonging to the pleiocene or pleistocene ages. A rhinoceros beetle came first followed by a huge tortoise, wagging its head from side to side and next a gigantic but most life-like swan (H.R.H. the Crown Prince's). A funny little red car, all flags, was the next, and then came a car with a most martial looking sapper in front and adorned with all kinds of tools used in Military Engineering (H.R.H. Prince Purachattra's). Next came a huge Chinese mythological lion or *sing to*, half a dozen cars gay with flowers, streamers and flags, and then a huge bull, standing on clouds and

with a living presentiment of Siva on his back. A car belonging to H.R.H. Prince Nara was adorned with a handsome Nang Mekalah, or Goddess of the Sea. Next to this came quite a work of art in form of a rice mill, with brick chimney, boiler and all. After a pretty floral car, came a huge three-headed white elephant (H.M. the King's), then a pretty lotus flower in full bloom (H.H. Prince Chow Sais) and then a titanic equestrian figure of the Phya Chakra or Lord of the Earth (H.M. the King's). Behind this was a huge gilded dragon, then a butterfly and a bed of flowers and last but by no means least, a Chinese marionette show with figures all working and a band inside. After the cars there was a military band and then the 'Mock King', with all his attendants, guards, state umbrellas etc. The 'Mock King' by the way is elected for the occasion and is a part of the ceremony itself. Then came two bands from the Rong Law and long files of sailors carrying coloured flags, between the files being quite a long procession of schoolboys, the various schools being designated by the regular 'colours' on their straw hats. Next came a number of the Provincial Gendarmerie, trained by Danish Officers, looking as fit and smart as any body of men could well be. Then came the Naval Department and Fire Brigades, with steam and hand pumps, hooks and ladders, patent extinguishers, etc., Beyond this again came a lot of Chinese sections of the pageant, comprising clowns in rickshaws, jugglers, and bands and banners of all sounds and hues, whilst the rear was brought up by the customary agricultural paraphernalia—used in the ceremony—including three elephants.